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ABSTRACT

The Bijnor Rebellion of 1857 was a revolt of the Muslim minority in the Bijnor district of India against the British East India Company and Hindu loyalists. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was an Indian Muslim serving the British Company. His account of the events of 1857 is the only one produced by an Indian who both participated in and analyzed the revolt. The account is comprised of three works composed during 1857-1858: History of the Revolt in the District of Bijnor; Causes for the Revolt of India; and Prayer for Peace at Moradabad. A letter Sir Sayyid wrote to Sir John Kaye in 1869 is a fourth pertinent document. This volume is a compilation of the four historical works translated into English. An introduciton that provides the background of Sir Sayyid precedes the works. (ND)

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SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN'S
HISTORY OF THE BIJNOR REBELLION

Translated with notes and introduction

by

Hafeez Malik

Morris Dembo

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PREFACE

No single event in the history of modern India excites the scholarly, as well as the popular, imagination more than the Revolt of 1857. The controversy still continues: was it a mutiny, a rebellion, or a war of independence? It is doubtful that Indian, Pakistani, and British scholars would ever share a common interpretation of the events of 1857, any more than American and British historians would view alike the nature of the American Revolution or the American War of Independence. This disagreement, the passion and prejudice, make the study of 1857 an intriguing enterprise.

The contemporary British view described 1857 as a "great mutiny," a "Dalhousie aftermath," a "Brahmanical protest," and a "Muslim rebellion." An underlying theme in all these interpretations was the British concept of "Divine chastisement," which implied their failure to fulfill the "Sacred Mission" of spreading Christianity among the peoples of India. Consequently, the Palmerston Government designated October 7, 1857, as a day of National Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayers. Thousands of Britons flocked to the churches to seek Divine forgiveness and aid in putting down the revolt of the Indians. As we might expect, therefore, the British victory in 1858 was attributed to Divine intervention against the "heathens" of India. Frederick Henry Cooper, the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, echoed in 1858 this British faith:

> It was not policy, or soldiers, or officers that saved the Indian Empire to England and saved England to India. The Lord our God, He it was. Rough hewn as were all the human devices in the vast struggle, Divine Providence shaped their ends. Apparent weaknesses were turned into sources of real strength; foolishness became wisdom.

Not knowing that God was on Britain's side, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan also prayed in 1858 while he was in Moradabad preparing to write the history of the revolt in the district of Bijnor:

> May God grant me his guidance so that this history may be full and accurate. One-sidedness in historical writing is such a dishonest action that its effect remains forever, so that the burden of the sin rests on the writer's neck until the Day of Judgment. Much that appears in this history was either seen by me personally or done by me personally. The balance was written after thorough investigation and is completely true and accurate.

Sir Sayyid's avowed impartiality should be discussed. To him impartiality did not include treating the rebels of Bijnor as the equals of the British East India Company; nor were they "patriots" or "nationalists" exercizing their right of political independence. They had defied the lawful British authority in error of judgment, in greed, and out of their ancestral pride. Consequently,

Sir Sayyid always referred to Nawab Mahmud Khan, the central figure of the revolt in Bijnor, as Na-Mahmud (the cursed one). Sir Sayyid did provide, however, a faithful description of the events and distributed the blame and responsibility impartially between the Hindu and Muslim subjects of the Company. To that extent his history is reliable and free from the distortions that frequently occurred in the British literature on the events of 1857.

In the Rohilkhand the rebellion in the district of Bijnor presented the all-India problems in a microcosm: who started the rebellion, who sustained it, and finally who remained loyal to stamp it out? Half of the total population of the Bijnor district, the Muslim minority lead by Nawab Mahmud Khan, (a descendant of Nawab Najib-ud-Daulah), initiated the rebellion and consequently suffered most when the British *Raj* was re-established. The Hindu elite remained loyal to Britain and was appropriately rewarded by the British Government. Nevertheless, while the Hindu and Muslim elites pursued mutually exclusive ambitions, Hindu and Muslim employees of the Company (including Sir Sayyid) remained steadfast in their loyalty and devotion to their British superiors.

Also, 1857 taught Sir Sayyid another lesson which was to mould his attitude toward the Hindus in subsequent years. It convinced him that although the British *Raj* maintained peace between Hindus and Muslims it did not blend them into a single nationality, aspiring to a common political end. In fact he saw in Bijnor Hindus and Muslims oppressing each other during the interruption of British rule. It was obvious to him that, if Hindus and Muslims could not close their ranks and adjust to each other's aspirations and just demands in an emergency, they were less likely to achieve a satisfactory *modus vivendi* in peaceful times.

Sir Sayyid's account of the events of 1857 comprise three works, composed between 1857-58: *Tarikh Sarkashiy-i Dhilla Bijnor* (History of the Revolt in the District of Bijnor), *Asbab-i Baghawat-i Hind* (Causes for the Revolt of India), *Prayer For Peace at Moradabad.* A letter in 1869 to Sir John Kaye is a fourth pertinent document. To the best of our knowledge they are the only works on the revolt of 1857 produced by an Indian, who not only analyzed the event itself, but actually participated in it. Their importance, therefore, cannot be over-estimated. Yet, despite their historical value, they have generally remained unknown or unused by historians. As far as we know, this volume is the first compilation available in the English language.

A word of explanation on the division of labor is in order. The first drafts of the translation of the *Tarikh Sarkashiy-i Dhilla Bijnor* (the Bijnor rebellion) were produced independently, and a final draft evolved through a series of conferences between Malik and Dembo. Hence, we share equally the responsibility for the merits and demerits of the translation. Three Urdu tests -- one published by Delhi's Nadwat al-Mussenefiyn and edited by Sharafat Husain Mirza of New Delhi University; the second published by Lahore's Majlis Traqqiy-i Adab and edited by Mawlana Muhammad Isma'īl Panī-Patīy; and the third one edited by Dr. Mu'īn al-Haq of the Pakistan Historical Society in Karachi -- were consulted and compared. Although we benefited from the learned comments of the three editors, the final responsibility in arranging the history rests entirely on us. In general we followed Mirza's test of *Tarikh Sarkashiy-i Dhilla Bijnor.* Unfortunately, we did not have access to Sir Sayyid's original manuscript.

Originally *Asbab-i Baghawat-i Hind* was translated in 1873 by Sir Sayyid's two English friends, Major-General G. F. I. Graham and Sir Aucklan Colvin. In comparing the Urdu draft of the *Asbab* with the English translation we noticed several inaccuracies, but we have made no attempt to correct or even modify them. Since the translation was published under Sir Sayyid's name and supervision, it should be accepted as an independent and self-contained document. These comments are also applicable to the *Prayer For Peace at Moradabad*, although we could not determine the names of the original translators.

Sir Sayyid's letter of 1869 to Sir John Kaye was found by Hafeez Malik in the India Office Library in London along with the *Prayer*. Initially dictated in Urdu (as was Sir Sayyid's practice) the letter was translated into English by his son, Sayyid Mahmud, who was then enrolled as a student of law at the Lincoln's Inn in London. (On his return from London in 1967 Malik discovered that the letter was first published in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* in 1960.)

As a final note, we hope that readers will help us by sending their comments about the quality of the translation. All suggestions will be considered for the second printing of the volume. The translators are grateful to Mrs. Marta Nicholas for editing this volume, and calling our attention to necessary matters of detail which were overlooked by us.

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INTRODUCTION

Sir Sayyid was born on October 17, 1817, in Delhi, and died in Aligarh in 1898. He was to witness the destruction of the power of the Marathas and the Pindaris by the British, who would assure the first unitary rule of India in almost a century. Sir Sayyid's years of growth and maximum vigor and service -- both to the Raj and to the Muslims - would perforce be related to the main thrust of his age, the political process that would remove the Moghuls from Delhi, and the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India on January 1, 1858.

This major theme can be identified in the earliest days of Sir Sayyid's life as a child born into "a Muslim family of high nobility."[1] In his case, the earliest personal influences may have been decisive for his entire career. Besides his impressive mother, there was his grandfather Khwaja Farid-ud-Din who died when Sir Sayyid was still under 10, but whose influence was so profound that Sir Sayyid returned to it for the subject of his final book in 1896. Khwaja Farid-ud-Din, his maternal grandfather, served the British in several important assignments: as superintendent of 1791 of the Calcutta Madrassa, then after 1799 as attache with British diplomatic missions in Iran and, finally, from 1815 to his death in 1826 as Prime Minister in the Court of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar Shah II. He was responsible for the revenues of the two nearby districts of Delhi and Hissar, which the British had given the Emperor as his private domain.

Sir Sayyid was to learn much of importance at the residence of his maternal grandfather. There he saw as a constant visitor and family confidant the Boston-born Major-General David Ochterlony, the conqueror of Nepal and British Resident in Delhi. Sir Sayyid's final book, in fact, gives us a picture of himself as a young child sitting on Ochterlony's knee and asking questions about the gold buttons on the Major-General's full-dress uniform.[2] By any analysis, the combination of his mother, his grandfather, and Ochterlony formed a set of positive personal influences that would affect Sir Sayyid's political thought in later years. The net result might perhaps be stated as conditioning him to accept the reality of British power and to make the best of it.

Although generally overlooked, Mir Muttaqi, Sir Sayyid's father, also contributed much to his growing son. On this side, however, the effect was to balance the pro-British bias of the maternal side. The paternal influences provided Sir Sayyid with his all-important social link as a Sayyid with the Prophet Muhammad and Arabia, his personal access to the Court as the son of the Emperor's close friend, and his spiritual conditioning as the son of an intensely religious father who was the disciple of Shah Ghulam Ali of Delhi, the founder of a Sufi brotherhood. It was thus not in jest that Sir Sayyid once answered a question about his religion from an English official by saying, "I am a Wahabi."[3] We can, in fact, view Sir Sayyid's achievements as the creative result of the contrary tensions that he was able to master and put to work for his own good and that of the Muslims.

Sir Sayyid's sympathy for the militant anti-British reform movements of his day is most strikingly seen in his great work on the monuments of Delhi, the *Athar al-Sanadid*. It was first published in 1847 after he had entered the services of the British East India Company as a minor judicial functionary. This book was to make Sir Sayyid famous abroad and to secure his election in 1864 as an honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

This fame came to Sir Sayyid by way of Paris. Garcin de Tassy, a French scholar of Urdu, learned of the book and favorably reviewed it in the *Journal Asiatique* (Nov.-Dec., 1856). de Tassy thought so much of the work by the "eminent Muslim author" that he translated it for serial publication. Its appearance in the post-Mutiny years of 1860-1861 coincided with de Tassy's distress over the news that the British re-conquest of Delhi had virtually destroyed the city. Nevertheless, the book was unusual for what it omitted as well as for what it contained.

de Tassy made his translation from the second edition of 1854, and was ignorant of the series of biographical sketches of famous persons who had once lived in Delhi that had appeared in the first edition of 1847 as its fourth chapter or section. (This missing section now appears in the recent editions of *Athar-at-Sanadid* published in India and Pakistan.) The explanation for Sir Sayyid's dropping this chapter appears to lie in its impolitic eulogy on the life of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, the reformer who died in 1831 fighting the rule of the Sikhs. Sir Sayyid described the great martyr as a man of superhuman capacity in bravery, in popular appeal, and in his command of spiritual power. The biographical sketch concluded, moreover, with a sharp thrust at Shahid's Afghan allies who betrayed him on the battlefield for the price of Sikh gold. This aversion to the Afghans, or Pathans, as they are called in India, became a critical feature of Sir Sayyid's experience in Bijnor during the Revolt.

Much in the general content of *Athar-al-Sanadid* is also important to the general subject of Sir Sayyid and the Revolt. The reserve and rational spirit that mark Sir Sayyid's treatment of the different monuments of Delhi are particularly noteworthy. They appear close indeed to the "Protestant" reformist spirit which Sir Sayyid, long after the Revolt, saw as a hallmark of the so-called Wahabi Movement itself.[4] The monuments are described in simple statements that are free of hyperbole, while disputed questions are objectively solved by reference to sources or by actual on-the-spot investigation. Very candidly Sir Sayyid asserted that a reknowned mosque in Delhi was built from the ruins of a Hindu temple, or that the high quality of its mosaics proved that a "clever Italian" must have been employed among the artisans who built the royal bath at the Red Fort.

The puritan rational (or shall we say "Wahabi") streak is, on the other hand, quite clearly evident. Sir Sayyid was thus sorry that the courts of law had not yet banned a popular "mela" where the accent on pleasure offended him. Equally evident is his practical sense of how to get on in the world. Here and there in the work one finds, for example, exaggerated praise for British cleanup campaigns in Delhi and the "extraordinary" railway bridge which they built over a nearby river.

There is, finally, the relation between Sir Sayyid's choice of language and his basic intellectual sympathies with the Islamic reform movements of his day. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Mawlana Isma'īl Shahid, leaders of the religious reforms, had already chosen Urdu over Persian to reach to wider audience, and Sir Sayyid likely chose to write *Athar-al-Sanadid* in Urdu instead of Persian for the same reason. An established writer in Persian, Sir Sayyid may also have been influenced to write in Urdu by Mirza Ghalib, India's leading poet in Persian and Urdu and Sir Sayyid's intimate in Delhi. In the years before the Mutiny, Ghalib had shifted from Persian to a greater use of Urdu, particularly in his famous letters in colloquial style. In any event, Shibli Nomani, a decisive figure in Muslim historiography in India has argued that Sir Sayyid was the direct beneficiary of Ghalib's extension of the Urdu prose style.[5]

Sir Sayyid's use of Urdu in his historical and religious works in turn played a major role in projecting Urdu out of the subject matter of love and courtship and into the arena of political, educational, moral, and historical discourse and struggle. His *Tarikh Sarkashiy-i Dhilla Bijnor* (History of the Revolt in Bijnor), which is the focus of this introduction, was actually the first report of a contemporary event ever published in Urdu.[6]

A review of the local social and historical background of the Revolt in Bijnor appears necessary in order to present the broader canvas against which Sir Sayyid's intensely detailed history was written. Bijnor, just 40 miles from Meerut, formed part of the Rohilkhand Division of six districts and the native state of Rampur. The chief city in this division was Bareilly (the native city of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid), the center of disaffection in the Revolt for the entire Division. The leading social group in Rohilkhand at the time were the descendants of the Pathans, who had ruled Rohilkhand in the first half of the 18th Century before their conquest by the combination of Oudh, the Marathas, and the British. In 1801 the British East India Company took over the entire Division to incorporate Rohilkhand into their territories. The Pathans remained restive, however, and their resentment and instability were described by Bishop Heber, who visited Rohilkhand in the mid-1820's. He recorded his impression that "the people appear by no means to have forgotten or forgiven their first injuries. The Mussulman chiefs, who are numerous, are very angry at being without employment under Government or hope of rising in the State or army and are continually breaking out into acts of insubordination and violence".[7] Bishop Heber was a good reporter, for serious disturbances did break out in 1837 and 1842. Within three weeks of the Revolt in 1857 every regiment in the Rohilkhand Division had rebelled, many Europeans had been murdered, and Khan Bahadur Khan, a descendant of the national hero of the Rohillas, had proclaimed himself Nawab or Viceroy in Bareilly of the Mughal King of Delhi.

Rohilkhand was the only region in Northern India where the British were routed during the Revolt. Again, while reading Sir Sayyid's pleas for help, one should recall that the British had postponed their assault on Rohilkhand purely for tactical reasons. To concentrate their strength advantageously, they were obliged to give priority attention to the outbreaks in Oudh and in Delhi itself. The campaign to retake Rohilkhand, when it came in April 1858, was easy. The British district officials returned to Bijnor for a triumphal entry

with the Hindu chiefs who had continued their struggle against the Pathan rebels. The spectacle of this joint Anglo-Rajput return to Bijnor was a detail which Sir Sayyid could not bring himself to record in his own book.[8]

Certain other aspects of the social situation also merit attention. First, Rohilkhand, and particularly Bijnor were highly urban. In 1847 when the British conducted the first census, the total population of the district was 620,552, and the average density was 325 per square mile. There were 415,570 Hindus and 204,982 Muslims, about half of the total population of the district. The inhabited towns and villages, all but 72 contained less than a thousand persons. Only 11 of those remaining had populations exceeding 5,000; these towns were Nagina, Chandpur and Sherkot (whose combined population exceeded 10,000), Bijnor, Seohara, Dhampur, Nihtaur, Kiratpur, Mandawar, Jhalu and Sahaspur. Their population was 99,275, or 16% of the total of Bijnor district.

The dominant community in these towns, moreover, was Muslim, particularly of the Shikh, Sayyid, and Pathan classes. The countryside, however, was dominated by zamindari holdings under the leadership of the great Hindu landlords of Sherkot, Tajpur, and Haldaur. Numerically, however, the largest single group was the Chamars, landless agricultural laborers and leather workers. They played no part in the Revolt itself and were generally written off in contemporary accounts as "deeply in debt and very helpless."[9] Certain other groups whose early response to the news of the revolt was aggressive and whose influence in Indian politics was important included the agricultural tribes, generally identified at the Jats, and the pastoral Gujars (Ahirs).[10] The Ahir center in Bijnor at Mandawar is mentioned as an important center as far back as the travel accounts of the Chinese pilgrims to India. Apparently, for Sir Sayyid, the essential problem of district government concerned the domination and use of the Jats and Gujars by the British Government and its landlord and aristocratic allies.

In writing about the impact of the Revolt on Sir Sayyid, Hafeez Malik described him as being "traumatized" into a "staunch Muslim Nationalist."[11] Much in the record supports this judgment. Altaf Husain Hali, for example, described Sir Sayyid as being so remorseful over the plight of the fallen Muslims that he actually planned to leave the country. He reconsidered, however, when he decided that to run away at such a critical hour would be cowardly. Sir Sayyid went to Moradabad, another district of Rohilkhand, in April, 1858, with a promotion as Principal Sadr Amin. In Moradabad, he served as member of a special commission appointed to investigate the disposition of properties seized from persons accused of disloyalty during the Revolt. It was in Moradabad, too, that Sir Sayyid began to publish his books and pamphlets on the Revolt and to take his first steps as an educational and social reformer. Perhaps in this activity Sir Sayyid found release from the personal tragedies that had wiped out his home in Delhi and "turned him overnight into an old man with whitened hair". This appearance of age, however, was deceptive, for Sir Sayyid had forty very active years yet ahead of him.

Sir Sayyid's basic view of the Revolt was expressed in a memorandum written in Urdu, *Asbab-i Baghawat-i Hind* (The Causes of the Indian Revolt), and privately printed in 1858. Sir Sayyid sent almost the entire printing of 500 copies to the Home Government in London, save for a few copies he kept for himself and a single copy sent to the Government of India in Calcutta. (For the English text of this

memorandum, see Appendix A.) As summarized by Hali his general position was that the Revolt had not been a national movement nor had it resulted from any plot. It had rather come about from the disobedience of soldiers who had acted primarily out of ignorance or religious presuppositions and without any determination to mutiny against the Government.[12]

Despite evidence to the contrary (which eventually even British scholars accepted) Sir Sayyid retained his views without modification. A decade after the end of the Revolt Sir Sayyid visited Britain, where Sir John Kay asked him to assess once again "the extent to which the Mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the N.W. Provinces." Sir Sayyid simply reiterated his previous view that "even the use of the expression 'Military Mutiny' conveys an idea of something more than the real fact." (For the full text of this letter, see Appendix C.)

The remedy which Sir Sayyid recommended for India was the admission of native Indians into the Legislative Council. Graham, his English biographer, quoted Sir Sayyid's suggestion as follows: "I do not wish to enter into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable but absolutely necessary and that the disturbances were due to the neglect of such a measure."[13]

In Moradabad, meanwhile, events were again pushing Sir Sayyid out of the courtroom into the public limelight. On July 28, 1859, he was the principal speaker at a large thanksgiving ceremony offerred by the Muslims of Moradabad to Queen Victoria for her generous proclamation of November 1, 1858. His speech was so straightforward and effective that Hali records his own assessment that the degradation and losses suffered by the Muslims as the result of the Revolt had planted such deep concern in Sir Sayyid that he could not allow himself even a moment's respite. It may be worthwhile to sample here this concern of Sir Sayyid as he thanked God in public for having induced the British to be merciful. "Oh, God!", Sir Sayyid declared, "the times just passed away have been very eventful to Thy creatures. Neither man nor dumb cattle, the beasts of the fields, nor the fowls of the air, nay, nor even the inanimate trees and rocks, that cover the face of the earth, have enjoyed peace and quiet. No man was assured of life, property or his honor. The late disturbances tossed heaven and earth into confusion. In Thy merciful kindness Thou has put away from us, Oh God, the evils and calamities of the revolt. Oh, God! Thou has renewed Thy mercy toward Thy helpless servants and has restored to us the peace and comfort Thy servants enjoyed through Thy grace in the days preceding the disastrous disturbance." (For the full text of this prayer see Appendix B.)

Clearly, Sir Sayyid was speaking the same thoughts in the public prayer that he had used to conclude the book he was then publishing on the Revolt.

Sir Sayyid also took a step forward in educational reform in Moradabad. He organized a committee to manage a small Persian-language school, which later was merged into the larger tehsil school established by John Strachey who came to Moradabad at this time as its new Collector. Small as the venture may have been,

Sir Sayyid had something of broad significance in mind. With the blessing and encouragement of the British officials, he strove to encourage the "wealthy and respectable" of both Hindu and Muslim communities to send their sons to a public school. To underscore his case, Sir Sayyid placed his own son (Sayyid Mahmud) in the school and paid for the costs of two of the four scholarships being offered. At the public examination on January 1, 1860, Sir Sayyid asked the town elite to "think of the Hindee patshalas of a former age, and read the history of the Muhammadans, and you will find that high dignitaries regarded the education of their youth in large public schools as a great honor; assuredly it is so, for all the eminent pundits and *moulvees* who have lived before us or who are now living, and whom all you great men hold in high esteem and respect, all received their education, and acquired their profound learning at public schools, and not at their own homes."

Sir Sayyid continued his active and public interest in education. He published, for example, an objection against the proposed expansion of Government vernacular schools. Sir Sayyid had apparently not forgotten in Moradabad the advantage Pandit Radha Kishan enjoyed over him during the Revolt because of his facility in English. His boldest ventures in educational reform, however, took place after his transfer to Ghazipur in 1862. Here he established the Translation Society that was later to evolve into the Scientific Society of Aligarh, certainly a clear stage on the way to events too far from the Revolt to be covered here. Instead, we shall close with a review of an important speech in Persian which Sir Sayyid delivered at a meeting of the Muhammadan Literary Society in Calcutta on October 6, 1863.

Sir Sayyid was very much under the impact of the Revolt as he appealed to this Calcutta Muslim audience to support his scheme for a curriculum that would join together English and modern sciences with Arabic and Islamic studies. He reminded them that they were the only audience of Muslim leaders left to whom he could appeal, for "in our ancient capitals once so well known, so rich, so great and so flourishing, nothing is now to be seen or heard save a few bones strewn amongst the ruins or the human-like cry of the jackal." More important perhaps than this striking appeal to sentiment is that Sir Sayyid had by this time developed an approach to politics that contained the core ideas of Muslim nationalism. Nevertheless, his tone was mild: "Our great Prophet has enjoined upon us as a sacred duty that we should wish and act for the good of our co-religionists; therefore, if we disregard this injunction we are guilty indeed."[14]

We have left Sir Sayyid well on the way to becoming a national figure and the founder of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental college at Aligarh. Let us step back to summarize the lessons from the Revolt that Sir Sayyid carried with him as he assumed this leadership role. They include: (a) a theory of politics, that is, that British power was indispensable in India and could not be dislodged. The British, in fact, were the only organized force that could rule the sub-continent and at the same time preserve law and order. If the British should for any reason depart, power would gravitate toward the traditional leaders, and the population would split into hostile communal groups that would slaughter each other; (b) a theory of national power, that is, that power depends primarily on the capacity to organize and the possession of theoretical and practical

knowledge and not on numerical strength nor the possession of material resources; (c) a theory of society in which leadership was regarded as resulting primarily from inherited status or wealth. One of the greatest evils of a time of widespread public disorder was the consequent disruption of the inherited structure of society; (d) and, finally, a strategy of Muslim politics whose essential aim would be reconciliation with the British, and the delaying of political reforms in India until the Muslims were sufficiently educated to compete with the more advanced Hindus, especially the Bengali Hindus.

These ideas very largely underlined the movement of Muslim nationalism in India as it developed after Sayyid's death in 1898.

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11. Hafeez Malik, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Doctrines of Muslim Nationalism and National Progress", *Modern Asian Studies*, London, II, 3 C/968), p. 222; see also his, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Contribution to the Development of Muslim Nationalism in India", *Modern Asian Studies*, London, 4, 2 (1970), pp. 129-147; "Religious Liberalism of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan", *The Muslim World*, Hartford, Conn.

12. Altaf Husain Hali, *Hayat-Jawid* (Lahore: 1957), p. 139.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

14. G. F. I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, New Ed. (London: 1909), p. 28.

15. Sayyid Ahmad, *A Speech in Persian with translation into English on Patriotism and Necessity of Promoting Knowledge in India*, delivered at a meeting of the Mahomedan Literacy Society in Calcutta held at the house of the Hon. Moulvi Abdool Lateef Khan Bhadoor on the 6th October 1863. Published for the above Society. Ghazeepore. Printed at Sayyid Ahmad's Private Press, 1863, p. 5-6.

HISTORY OF THE BIJNOR REBELLION

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

PREFACE

May God grant me his guidance so that this history may be full and accurate. One-sidedness in historical writing is such a dishonest action that its effect remains forever, so that the burden of the sin rests on the writer's neck until the Day of Judgement. Much that appears in this history was either seen by me personally or done by me personally. The balance was written after thorough investigation and is completely true and accurate.

The greatest blessing of our history lies in the fact that the covenanted officers and Christian people of our District -- men, women, and children -- remained safe. When it was proper for them to leave, all the Christian people were able to leave for a place of safety with complete honor. This was the result both of the excellent plan of Mr. Alexander Shakespeare Sahib Bahadur and of his constancy of purpose and goodness of heart.

Before I describe the events which took place in Bijnor, it seems proper that I should give here the names of the covenanted and uncovenanted officers and staff who were posted in Bijnor during May 1857 and had a share in the administration of the district:

(I) *Covenanted Officers*

1. Mr. Alexander Shakespeare Sahib Bahadur - Collector and District Magistrate, his wife, and his father. May God bless them.

2. Mr. George Palmer Sahib Bahadur - Joint Magistrate. May God keep his fortune forever.

3. Mr. Currie Crawford Wilson Sahib Bahadur - Judge and Special Commissioner.

(II) *English Writers, Uncovenanted*

4. Mr. Lemaistre - Head Clerk in the Magistrate's office.

5. Mr. Johnson - clerk.

6. Mr. Murphy - clerk in the Prosecution Division, his wife and four sons.

7. Mr. Hewitt, not a regular employee.

8. Babu Kaliy Charan - English writer in the Collectorate.

(III) *The Infirmary*

9. Dr. Knight - Civil Surgeon.

10. Babu Tara Chander Sen - Indian doctor.

(IV) *Uncovenanted Indian Officers*

11. Muhammad Rehmat Allah Khan Sahib Bahadur - Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate and his family.

12. Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, author of this book.

13. Pandit Kalka Preshad - Munsif of Nagina.

14. Imdad Husain - Munsif of Dhampur, belonging to the family of Hafiz Rehmat Khan of Bareilly.

(V) *Tehsildars*

15. Mir Turab Ali - Tahsildar of Bijnor (was honorably reinstated to his position).

16. Sayyid Qasim Ali - Tahsildar of Chandpur (was reinstated to his position).

17. Mawlavi Sayyid Qadir Ali - Tahsildar of Nagina (was reinstated to his position).

18. Sadiq Ali Khan - Tehsildar of Dhampur (was absent).

19. Ahmad Allah Khan - Tehsildar of Najibabad, a nephew of Nawab Mahmud Khan (was a rebel).

(VI) *Agents*

20. Mir Murad Ali - Agent in Bijnor (became a rebel).

21. Sa'd Allah Khan Pathan - Agent in Chandpur, (of Bassi Kotla) (became a rebel).

22. Mir Shahamat Ali - Agent in Nagina (was discharged from his job because of his unauthorized absence).

23. Karim Allah Khan - Agent in Dhampur, was related to Nawab Mahmud Khan (became a rebel).

24. Manu Lal - Agent in Najibabad (was reinstated to his position).

(VII) *Employees of the Treasury*

25. Banke Roy - Treasurer, son of Lala Mather Das, (was reinstated to his position).

26. Bishan Lal - Orderly (reinstated).

27. Sada Sukh - Orderly (reinstated).

28. Bihari Lal - Orderly (reinstated).

29. Bakhshi Ram - Custodian of the Tahsil Bijnor (remained loyal and was reinstated).

30. Gulzar Lal - Custodian of the Tahsil Chandpur (reinstated).

31. Mangal Sen - Custodian of the Tahsil Dhampur (reinstated).

32. Shub Lal - Custodian of the Tahsil Najibabad (reinstated).

33. Sad Hammal - Custodian of the Tahsil Nagina (reinstated).

(VIII) *Employees at the Collectorate*

34. Mir Imam Bakhsh - Reader (was imprisoned for life).

35. Mazher Allah - Assistant Reader (was reinstated).

36. Durga Pershad - Office Guard (became Reader in the Collectorate).

37. Bihari Lal - Recorder (reinstated).

38. Muhammad Ali - Agent of Highways (reinstated).

(IX) *Employees of the Prosecution Division*

39. Munshi Amer Singh - Recorder (reinstated).

40. Lala Hersukh - Assistant Recorder (reinstated).

41. Bansi Dher - Office Guard (reinstated).

42. Pandit Shambu Nath - Superintendent (reinstated).

(X) *Police Inspectors*

43. Hasan Reza Khan - Inspector of Bijnor (was absent).

44. Gulab Singh - Inspector of Chandpur (reinstated).

45. Budh Singh - Inspector of Dhampur (reinstated).

46. Sardar Singh - Kotwal of Najibabad (reinstated).

47. Latafat Ali - Inspector of Mandawer (reinstated).

48. Ratan Singh - Acting Inspector of Nangal (absent).

49. Ganga Pershad - Inspector of Budhpur (was reinstated to his position in Sewhara).

50. Muhammad Husain - Inspector of Afzal Garh (was reinstated to his position in Nagina).

51. Prabhu Lal - Inspector of Sewhara (was reinstated to his position in Afzal Garh).

52. Munir-ud-Din, Acting Inspector of Nagina (was discharged).

(XI) *Jamadars, Class I*

53. Bhula Nath - Jamadar of Nurpur (reinstated).

54. Lutaf Ali - Jamadar of Kot Qadir (absent).

55. Chayda Lal - Jamadar of Krat Pur (discharged).

56. Abullah Khan - Jamadar of Chandi (was executed).

57. Rahat Naqi - Jamadar of Nahtor (under indictment).

(XII) *Jail*

58. Mohan Lal - Darogha (reinstated).

59. Ram Sarup - Jamadar (became a rebel).

(XIII) *Education Department*

60. Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector of Schools (was promoted to the position of Tahsildar, Dhampur).

61. Ahsan Ali - Sub Deputy Inspector of Tahsils Bijnor and Chandpur (reinstated).

62. Rahim Allah - Sub Deputy Inspector of Tahsils Nagina and Dhampur (under investigation).

CHAPTER I

Spread of the Mutiny

News of the tumult and disloyalty that broke out in Meerut on May 10, 1857 had not reached Bijnor on May 11. By May 12, however, this news had become well known and its influence more and more apparent. Looting began on the Ganges road, and the movement of travellers ceased. Travellers who were going to Meerut from Bijnor came back on May 12 and 13; but in Bijnor itself there was no rebellion at this stage.

The Mutiny began gradually in Bijnor too. Robbing of wayfarers started. Pillaging was reported on May 16 between the villages of Jhat and Olenda, which were under the control of the Bijnor police station. Here the Gujars[1] looted one Debi Das Bazzaz.[2] Dacoits attacked Shahbazpur Khaddar in the same way. The Gujars banded together to loot this village, the very first to be plundered in Bijnor District.

On the same day, sixteen thousand rupees that Chaudhri Pratab Singh - the headman of Tajpur[3] had sent to Bijnor to meet his assessment was taken into the treasury. Later, on May 17, Mr. Currie - the Postal Superintendent, was robbed at Ghat Rawali. Thanks to the energy and foresight of the Magistrate, the culprits were arrested by a detachment from Daran police station, including Mir Turab Ali Tahsildar[4] and some police officers. Some stolen property was even brought in. Although the public was cowed, the Gujars persisted in their crimes, particularly as they got help in their villainy from Gujars across the river.

Although the Gujars were ill-disposed from the outset, they used a strange strategem to reveal their true intentions. The Rawa caste (very fine farmers in the District but of the same time notorious as the most unmanly of its people) stirred up the Gujars. A Gujar woman, together with her husband and a barber, was passing through Shahbazpur in the subdivision of Mandawar, an important Rawa center. This Gujar woman was seized there and her husband killed. The barber escaped to lodge a complaint with Basawan, the Gujar leader in Sheikhpura. A complaint was also made to the entire Gujar brotherhood. They decided to loot and destroy the Rawa. Thereupon, the Gujars gathered in Ramjiwala, where they were quite near to Shahbazpur and Abul Khairpur. All the houses were looted in the ensuing attack, and most were set on fire. There were six men dead and injured; the Gujar woman was retaken.

Plans of the Bijnor Administration

The Magistrate had begun to make proper plans for the administration of the District from the outset of the disturbances. Regular army sowars (troopers) on leave in Bijnor were called to duty; irregular troopers were also hired while

police officers were instructed in writing to increase the number of constables to an appropriate degree. To protect the city itself, Chaudhri Nain Singh - Reis (landlord) of Bijnor was authorized to maintain regular night patrolling. Accordingly, he was doing so; in addition, Mr. Alexander Shakespeare - Collector and Magistrate - and Mr. George Palmer shared in these night patrols and surveillance. Three of us officers [i.e., Indian officers] divided our immediate staff into two groups for this night duty. The first group was led by Muhammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate. The second group belonged to Mir Sayyid Turab Ali Khan - Tahsildar of Bijnor and myself - the Sadr Amin (sub-judge). It had been brought together to make up a single group because we each had but few men under us. These two groups used to patrol separately at night in the city, the outlying dark orchards, and also the jail and treasury areas. Returning from these rounds we three officers, together with our men, remained on the alert and kept watch from chairs at the bungalow of the Collector. There was extreme confusion and apprehension at this stage in the District but we cannot manifest enough our gratitude to the Collector for his consideration and kindness. For our sake he had arranged all kinds of facilities, including a very fine canvas shelter which he had set up, where we used to stay at our complete ease.

Arrival at Bijnor of a Company of the Twenty-ninth Battalion Enroute from Saharanpur

A company of soldiers[5] who were enroute from Saharanpur to Moradabad appeared without warning at Bijnor on May 18. I learned about this development through reports that the company had rebelled and that the Subahdar[6] and a few soldiers had gone to the bungalow of the Collector. This news at once alarmed me and I went to the bungalow. There I learned that they were enroute to Moradabad as a relief company. I saw the impudent Subahdar sitting near the Sahib [Collector]. He was reporting something of his situation and the resistance which the Gujars had offered him near Ala Bas. However, his arrogance and lack of concern were manifest in the way he sat and spoke, while the evil that was in his heart was also evident on his face. It was proposed that day that plans should be made for this company to stay in Bijnor. Accordingly a plan was made for this purpose, whereupon I became frightened. However, their way of talking among themselves and the big noise they made in the bazaars made their sojourn extremely undesirable. Their departure was seen as a godsend even though permission actually came from Moradabad for their posting in Bijnor. They themselves were against staying, and so they left for Moradabad.

The news of the jailbreak at Moradabad on May 19 reached Bijnor very quickly. After the fleeing prisoners penetrated the rural areas, news of the event caused even more disorder. Thousands of villagers began to congregate from all directions. There was no fear of government left in anyone's heart. For our part, we began to fear that dacoits might attack Bijnor and loot the treasury. We still tried our best to maintain our vigilance and patrolling so that nothing should be omitted which might serve to overawe the villagers. In Bijnor itself, a very good atmosphere had been instilled. Thus, special dread for Bijnor weighed on the hearts of the villagers.

The Rebel Sapper and Miner Companies Reach Najibabad

At this time three hundred Sapper and Miner soldiers rebelled at Roorkee. A company of Sappers and Miners that had been sent to join the Commander-in-Chief's camp at Saharanpur returned to Roorkee. Both groups joined hands and started for Landhorah. They asked the Rani there to enlist them in her service, on the promise that they would conquer Roorkee etc. for her. The Rani refused their offer. They decided to approach the Nawab of Najibabad in order to achieve their aims. Therefore they set out for Najibabad, where they arrived on May 20.

Conspiring of Nawab Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Allah Khan with Subahdars

This much is clear: that when these soldiers reached Najibabad, some officers and men went to Ahmad Allah Khan Tahsildar to meet inside his house and negotiate; that Ahmad Allah Khan next took this group to Nawab Mahmud Khan; and that negotiations went on for a long time at his place. An authenticated version of these negotiations could not be known. But according to what was heard, these soldiers invited the Nawab to revolt against the British officers and to establish his rule. Besides this, what other advice could they give? There was also no authentic news about the Nawab's reply, which was given in secret. But this much was heard about what the Nawab said: that he could not take this risk as long as the British were present in Bijnor; that they should not make trouble in his own city and tahsil [sub-district], which were dependent on him; and that if they were to make trouble in Bijnor and drive the English out, then it would indeed be within his power to become Nawab. The soldiers thereupon promised to go to Bijnor. Reports that were constantly being received about these soldiers being enroute to Bijnor made us very frightened. We three officers had thought out plans so that if these faithless ones should come, the protection of the Europeans might be assured to the extent possible. We told the Collector, so that the arrangements for each one might be settled beforehand. We ourselves thought that this was the first time the seed of revolt had sprouted in the hearts of Mahmud[7] Khan (and Ahmad Allah Khan) who imagined to himself that the fanciful tree of his government would be a good shade tree. In one stroke, he forgot all the favors and patronage which the English had shown to his father and himself.

Arrival of the Sapper and Miner Company at Nagina, and Looting of the Tahsil

On this day - that is, on May 20 - news of the jailbreak at Moradabad reached Nagina. The intentions of the ruffians in Nagina were evil. The bazaar began to close. Mawlavi Qadir Ali - Tahsildar of Nagina, together with his orderlies and Munir-ud-din - Deputy in Charge of the Police Station, patrolled the bazaar in order to calm the public and reopen the shops. They also instructed the Hindu and Muslim landlords to stay on the alert and organize their individual wards in the town. It is a matter of great surprise that on

May 21 at 11 o'clock Munir-ud-din, the police deputy, informed Mawlavi Qadir Ali Tahsildar that there had been a jailbreak at Bijnor. In actual fact, there had been no trouble as yet at the Bijnor jail. Mawlavi Qadir Ali now became anxious. Yesterday, he said to himself, upon news of the jailbreak at Moradabad, there had been a disturbance in Nagina. What could not happen now when the news broke of a jailbreak at Bijnor? Therefore, he instructed his orderlies to remain alert. The door of the tahsil was closed, but the window was left open. The Tahsildar himself still had no word of the soldiers.

It was reported that the soldiers had decided among themselves that it would not be proper to make such a big disturbance without having first returned to the cantonment. So they decided to go to Moradabad by way of Najibabad. Suddenly, three soldiers entered the tahsil by way of the window and demanded supplies from the Tahsildar. Meanwhile, many soldiers penetrated the tahsil to surround the Tahsildar with drawn bayonets. Taking him by force to the court building, they pulled apart the chests with nooses and broke the lock of the treasury in order to loot it. At this time, the Tahsildar and the Police Deputy slipped away to hide in a house. When the soldiers came after them they left the city for a short period, after which they came back by another route to hide in another place. They sent a report to the Collector. Many of the town ruffians had joined the soldiers, in order to loot the effects of the Tahsildar and ransack the bazaar. These ruffians also robbed Bhagirat Kalal, a very wealthy man. When all the soldiers had left the town, the Tahsildar called together the Hindu and Muslim landlords to secure their assistance in controlling the ruffians who had stirred up sedition in Nagina. Details of the looted property appear below.

Details of the Official Money and Property Looted at Nagina

Rupee	Anna	Pie	
8,392	11	9	Cash (by account and from gross)
744	14	5	Road Account
3	10	6	Wages for Road Watchmen
4	4	-	Peons' fee summary
9	15	-	Bookbinding Account
10	4	-	Decree Summary Account
55	-	-	Opium Income
126	14	-	Cost of Stamps
49	1	3	Visitors' honorarium
55	-	-	Opium
897	4	-	Stamp Paper
10,348	14	11	

Jailbreak in Bijnor

Such was the calamity that had taken place in Nagina while we three officers met with the Collector to discuss the question of protecting the treasury. The air was thick with reports about an assault by the villagers and about the steady

advance towards us of the Sapper and Miner battalion. We decided at this point to throw the contents of the treasury into a well the next day.

We had just come to this decision when all of a sudden, at a little before one o'clock, the sound of firing on the jail was heard. We learned that there had been a jailbreak. The Collector, myself - the Sadr Amin, the Deputy Collector, and Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar set out for the jail with swords and muskets. We ran towards where we thought groups of prisoners might be heading. We must have covered half a mile when the thought hit home that the treasury might meanwhile be looted. The Collector ordered me, the Sadr Amin and the Deputy Collector to look after the treasury. So we returned to the treasury and at once set up a picket and watch, while the Collector and Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar proceeded towards the jail. At this time Mr. George Palmer appeared fully armed on a horse. He handed me the keys of the treasury before leaving with several troopers to pursue the prisoners. We took it for a certainty that a jailbreak would be staged only so the prisoners and ruffians might then join hands to attack the treasury. However, the escaping prisoners continued to flee towards the river. One might say that either our original assessment had been wrong or that the prisoners were deterred from this evil intent when they saw the Collector and Mr. George Palmer so determined in their pursuit. In short, several prisoners were killed and wounded by musket fire. The rest, who were unharmed, were locked up in the jail. Next the Collector came to the treasury. The treasure was taken out at once and I - the Sadr Amin - threw with my own hands, 150,000 rupees into the well. Mr. George Palmer pursued the prisoners in the lowlands of the Ganges.

The jailbreak is an extremely strange and thought-provoking affair. It is clear that there had not been an attack on it from the outside. There can be no doubt that because of the wickedness or conspiracy of Ram Sarnu - the Jamadar (superintendant of the jail), who once had belonged to some Telingana battalion, - the jail was broken into and a window was left open. In our opinion after many prisoners had already escaped he got hold of a gun to go after the remaining ones. Perhaps the jailbreak took place because Ram Sarnu was afraid of an outside attack and so adopted this strategy in order to avoid the greater loss to himself that an outside attack would entail. There is a thought that still causes me to be suspicious: that if the reports about a conspiracy at Najibabad are regarded as accurate, then this was the very day -- nay, the very hour -- for the Telingana soldiers to come from Najibabad to Bijnor. Moreover, after the English officers had left, Ram Sarnu suddenly rose greatly in the esteem of the Nawab. His access to the court there grew each day, although previously there had been no reason at all for him to have any such entree there.

Looting at Barampur

After this event, the Gujars came together in great strength in Pargana Mandawar in order to loot the wealthy Rawa, their traditional enemies. An attack was launched against village Barampur in Pargana Kiratpur, a very big village of the Rawa. Thousands of Gujars gathered from both sides of the Ganges to make this attack. Some Meos were also with them. They joined together to loot the village for eight days. Houses were dug up and property taken out.

Houses were set alight. It is well known that thirty thousand maunds of coarse sugar was seized; taking into consideration the grain, cattle, and goods, the total loss amounted to Rs. 300,000. The village was a big one, and many villagers had brought their goods for deposit there in the belief that it was a safe place. The looted sugar was sold off at the going rate for wheat.

Coming of Mahmud Khan to Bijnor

Before this event, the Collector had called the leading personages of the District to meet in Bijnor so that they might be on hand to support the administration. It is very strange that on the evening of this very day, Mahmud Khan reached Bijnor from Najibabad with 60 to 70 Pathan musketeers. On the surface, no doubt, he had come by invitation. Still, the surprising part is that he had brought empty wagons to take the treasure to Najibabad. Wringing his hands and making a very sad face, he met with the Deputy Collector, to complain about how awful it was that the money had been thrown into the well when he had brought wagons to take it to Najibabad. This assertion confirms that Najibabad conspiracy and makes the cause of the jailbreak extremely suspicious.

There was much fear in Bijnor that night, since the intention of the soldiers to go to Moradabad had not yet been disclosed and people were still convinced that they were enroute to Bijnor. For ourselves, well, we had little hope of passing the night safely. Our biggest worry was for the English officers and their wives, since these miserable, disloyal soldiers were most of all determined to harm English officers. They had no concern at all with Hindustani men and clerks. We speak the truth in our heart when we say that Mr. Alexander Shakespeare (May he be fortunate!) and Mr. George Palmer showed such regard and consideration for us that we had come to love them dearly. In their service we truly had little regard for our own lives. I am sincerely revealing my inner feelings in saying that love for these gentlemen had filled my heart with profound anxiety on their account. As a consequence, a flame of love, as it were, arose from my heart in order to surround them. We truly intended at the time to sacrifice ourselves first, like the moth, should - God forbid - that evil hour come; and then so be it. I do not have the slightest doubt that my two comrade officers felt the same way. We did not come to sit on watch that night at the Residence with the intention of leaving that place alive to return to our own homes again. It is a matter for deep gratitude to God that our sincere intention brought its reward. God preserved our beloved superiors in His grace and saved us, too, from affliction. By the favor of God, we have reached that day now that all of us who held that good intention are alive and well together with our beloved superiors. We thank God with a heart full of joy. Amen.

The Sapper and Miner Soldiers Reach Dhampur

In short, the soldiers who had come to Nagina left for Dhampur. News of the violence they had all at once perpetrated in ignorance in Nagina had previously reached Dhampur. The Tahsildar had closed his office while his men were on the alert inside. It was quite a stroke of luck that none of the town ruffians joined the soldiers to mislead and instigate them. It was also

fortunate that on this very day there was a wedding party at Har Sukh Rae Lahiya's house. He gave goods and the very best sweets from the feast to the soldiers. The townspeople also gave them rations. The soldiers made no trouble there and left for Moradabad.

Additional Plans for Bijnor and Bijnor District

Rebelliousness grew in the District after the jailbreak. It was the notorious fact that robber gangs were descending even upon Bijnor city itself. Large rural bands also came together, particularly in Pargana Mandawar. Accordingly, the Collector, with the help of Chaudhri Nain Singh, hired two hundred men to put up pickets in different places and block the roads about the city. We officers, after the day's work, patrolled at night as we had before, as far as the residence of the District Magistrate. In truth, a peaceful atmosphere prevailed in Bijnor on account of this activity. It was well known throughout the District that the administration in Bijnor city itself was sound. Fear and respect for such arrangements explain why nobody dared strike a blow at Bijnor city. Nevertheless, rebellion prevailed as before in other Paraganas (sub-districts). The Collector was also busy restoring law and order there. New troopers were employed, and foot soldiers were being enlisted too. He requested Meerut and Moradabad to send help and a very small, reliable military force. It was expected that when all these had been brought together they would invade the Paraganas to attack the seditious there. In addition, there was no negligence, with respect to the administration and the police force. Appropriate orders were constantly sent to the police. The district administration did not allow its excellent plans to be jeopardized. However, the Gujars kept up constant movement on both banks of the Ganges between Bijnor and the adjacent district of Muzaffarnagar. The pargana of Chandpur was adjacent to the country of the Pachhande Jats and the Meos, while the Pargana of Najibabad was adjacent to the forests and wastelands. As a consequence, the District became more disturbed. It was impossible to repel this danger without the support of a reliable army and two light cannons.

Arrival in Bijnor of Chaudhri Randhir Singh and Chaudhri Partab Singh

It was the misbegotten Mahmud Khan who had come first when the Reis (landlords) were asked to give their support. On the next day, first Chaudhri Randhir Singh - landlord of Haldaur and then Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur appeared. Each could offer only five troopers in support; some soldiers also came with them. They stayed in the compound of the Collector. Such scanty support was not able to repel this big disturbance.

Reference to the Chaudhris' Support and the Absence of Artillery

It is a matter of regret that none of these landlords acknowledged having artillery. If at that time we had had two pieces such as the artillery that

came to light only after our departure, and if they had been helpful to us then, affairs might have turned out differently from what actually transpired in the District. Notwithstanding the summons of the Collector, Bhup Singh - Taluqdar of Rehar and Burhapura did not appear, nor did he offer any help. Mahmud Khan, who was present, became very restless after only twelve hours; he wanted to return to Najibabad on any pretext and offered excuses in order to get away. We did not have the slightest suspicions about him at this time. We took his false excuses at face value and tried our best to convince him that he ought to stay in Bijnor, since we looked to him for a great deal of support. But now we are able to realize that his restlessness stemmed from only one cause -- that his plans had misfired in Bijnor: the rebel soldiers had not come and he would not be able to take away the treasure. This was why he had become alarmed and why he wanted to return to Bijnor to make a new plan. After two days of restless sojourn, he again went away to Najibabad.

In short, arrangements were completed to the extent possible. However, the villagers did not refrain from disorder, and looting continued in the rural areas. An attack by dacoits took place at Pratapur in Pargana Najibabad. The watchman and Chanda Paradhan were wounded in the affray. The village overseers and butchers of Akbarabad also formed a gang. First they robbed the village accountants of Akbarabad; then they went to strike the Jats of Sikandarpur and also to attack Hajipur. At Hajipur they met resistance. Several men of Hajipur were killed, along with the old headman of Allahheri, who had come to the aid of the people of Hajipur. Rampur was looted next. All the Jats then came together to attack Akbarabad. Its houses were all plundered and set on fire. We then saw the phenomenon of these villagers who had united to seek vengence not confining themselves to looting one or another specific village that was the object of their hate, but, once being mobilized, looting whomever they pleased and whomever they saw as weak.

Appointment of Superintendents in the District Administration

It was on account of these particular evils that the Collector decided to appoint several honorable men of importance in the District to serve as superintendents. Taking along an appropriate number of men, they were to actively patrol in each paragana and disperse the villagers who were forming themselves into bands.

Among those selected for this work were Shafi Allah Khan - brother of the wretch Ahmad Allah Khan, and Sa'ad Allah Khan - landlord of Barhapura and also a former police deputy in Nagina. These men were honorable and they had at their call many Pathan soldiers, companions and members of their brotherhood. It also served a useful purpose for our weakened administration to take heed of them and win their gratitude. It could turn them into wellwishers of the authority and, in addition, divert the attention of those who might otherwise stir up trouble in the District. These plans were, in truth, so sound that if the men who were available had also been sound, the District administration

would have remained sound also. All the Hindu and Muslim landlords of Nagina issued a joint request that Nathe Khan, the wood merchant, should be put in charge of patrolling with a suitable company of men. Perhaps if they had not made this request, Nathe Khan would then, as leader of the ill-disposed, have started to create trouble. Their request was accordingly granted; and the order to patrol was given to Nathe Khan. It is clear from this entire report that our District Magistrate was not deficient in foresight, that each and every plan he adopted was valid and popular. Indeed, a better plan than his could not be devised.

Dacoity at Chandpur

On May 26, Id Day, many Meos and Pachhande Jats attacked Chandpur, to pillage the place. The townspeople fought back manfully. There were several killed and wounded on both sides; but the city itself was saved. Many villagers then gathered a second time to loot Chandpur. The Collector sent Najaf Ali Risaldar in the leave regiment as officer-in-charge of twenty-five troopers to aid the police at Chandpur. The troopers stayed for two days after reaching the place, returning to Bijnor when the dacoits had been scattered. Through these events, the Collector became aware of the lax and timid behavior of the police inspector at Chandpur and called in Gulab Singh, the police inspector, to rebuke him. Taking Bhola Nath Jamadar along, Gulab Singh then went to Ghalli village, which belonged to the locale from which the mischief-makers had come, and he set the village alight. On the whole, after this disciplining, the pargana was peaceful.

New Servants of Little Use

We did not feel more secure in keeping with the growth of numbers of soldiers and troopers. At this juncture, the essence of the security situation was two-fold: (1) if, by chance, the District should be invaded by an army when its defense might be accomplished, but any possibility of assistance from these men could be ruled out beforehand; and (2) if some leading man of the District should revolt, then this matter, too, might be resolved satisfactorily; but again, these men would not be able to do anything for our self-defense. They were all, in fact, our secret enemies, for the eyes of the entire District were fastened on Mahmud Khan. Of course, they could handle the villagers; but they would be able to do so only if the District as a whole were at ease in the other two respects. For this reason, the Collector sent urgent requests for reinforcements.

Arrival of Some Troopers from Bareilly and Soldiers from Moradabad

The Collector was dispirited after his failure to get military support. However, on May 28 Mr. Robert Alexander Bahadur - the Commissioner had sent to Bijnor twenty-five troopers just taken on in Bareilly and forty soldiers from Moradabad who had proven themselves sound, although shortly before their

battalion had mutinied. Mr. George Palmer and Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar of Bijnor, together with these soldiers and twenty troopers under command of Bahadur Ali Khan - Risaldar dispatched by leave of the Commissioner, went through the pargana of Mandawar during the night of May 20. Here the Gujars and similar peasant groups had their traditional stronghold, where they were mobilizing themselves for dacoity at this time near Mandawar itself and Muhammadpur.

Bad Intentions of Ahmad Allah Khan and Shafi Allah Khan

If one looks carefully at the deeds done by Ahmad Allah Khan and his brother Shafi Allah Khan while the Collector was still in charge, then they too will not be free of the suspicion of being arrogant and insubordinate. Take the example of the Banjara (grain-carriers) who had gathered together in the forest for mischief. Shafi Allah Khan took out a force to attack them. It was well known that the looted property he took from them was worth about twenty-five thousand rupees. He also carried off twelve of their women as his slaves. They had to be set free a week later after these grain-carriers had mobilized themselves in great strength. In the same way, Ahmad Allah Khan attacked Bhaguwala, where the Banjaras were also gathered together. He kidnapped some of them only, it was rumored, to release them after taking their money. It was also rumored that a Banjara was killed and strung up on a tree. While enroute to make this attack, Ahmad Allah Khan wounded a headman at Kangpur and appropriated ten thousand rupees in property there. Shafi Allah Khan attacked the Jats of Bodagari while they were plundering some villages. He ran away when they showed fight. This took place when Mahmud Khan was coming to Bijnor from Najibabad even though he had not been summoned to appear by the Collector. He stationed himself at Kiratpur, where Shafi Allah Khan reached him. The two joined hands with their fellow travelers to descend on Bodagari, which they looted and set alight. If these matters were looked at carefully they will then not emerge clear of the taint of willfulness.

The Second Unsolicited Visit of Mahmud Khan

Although Mahmud Khan could not wait to leave Bijnor the first time, this current and unsolicited visit to the Collector from Najibabad was not unsuspicious. He reached Bijnor on June 1 and set up his tent in the Collector's compound. This time the signs of rebellion were evident on his features. He was exhilerated at the prospect of being his own master; the love of it intoxicated him. He spoke in such a manner to the Deputy Collector that his seditious intentions became manifest. The Deputy Collector revealed these intentions to me. I told him that he ought to report everything at once to the Collector. We thereupon reported to the Collector the words of Mahmud Khan that had made known to us his intention to revolt. It was proposed that Muhmud Khan be sent away from Bijnor. It looked difficult to arrange his departure, but a strategem was worked out to send him to make a tour in the pargana of Chandpur. Showing his waywardness, Mahmud Khan went off instead to Daranagar.

Mr. George Palmer Punishes the Seditious in Mandawar

Mr. George Palmer reached Mandawar with his force on May 31, 1857. He requested reports about the various places where the Gujars were suspected of mobilizing. At four o'clock Mr. Palmer, together with Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar and Latafat Ali - Police Inspector, mounted and rode to Aswakheri, which is on the Ganges, in order to remove two large jezails (small cannons) from that village. News came on June 1, the second day, that the villagers were mobilizing in Fazlpur Village. Mr. Palmer took along twenty-five or thirty soldiers, twenty troopers, Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar of Bijnor, Mir Latafat Ali - Police Inspector of Mandawar, and Mir Muhammad Ali - road agent and landlord of Mandawar. About a thousand inhabitants of Mandawar also came along with one Bisawan, headman of Sheikhupura, and his two sons. They observed about four thousand men near the orchard of Fazlpur. Mr. Palmer galloped ahead to strike them on the right flank with his troopers. The other leaders advanced together with the soldiers. Seeing this attack, the villagers fired their muskets. They also offered resistance with drawn swords. Nevertheless, on receiving a flanking volley they fled. This attack was pressed home, and many men were encircled. Fazlpur was set alight and looted. Fifteen or twenty men were killed outright; many were wounded; twenty or thirty armed men were captured; and many were drowned in the Lahpi River and the Ganges. In addition to Fazlpur, Jehangirpur, Bhojpur, Sheikhupura, Husainpur, Narayanpur, and Aminpur were also set alight, as the people of these villages were also implicated.

Fifty Thousand Rupees from Bijnor to Meerut

Captain Gough came to Bijnor from Meerut on June 2 with a few troopers to take the treasure. Fifty thousand rupees was taken out of the well and handed over to him. Even though he had just a few troopers under him and dacoits were to be found everywhere in large numbers, the aforementioned Captain had some elephants loaded with this treasure and most courageously set off for Meerut on June 4 by way of Daranagar Ghat. His intrepid action won everyone's admiration. Also on June 2, Mr. George Palmer had sent to Bijnor the prisoners who had been taken in the pargana of Mandawar. Gujars were called in from the environs. A large number assembled on June 3; their bonds were taken to keep the peace, restore stolen property, and hand over their arms. There was fear and order in the District as a consequence of this punishment. It was even thought possible that the District might now be free of disorder.

Bareilly Mutiny and Return of Mr. George Palmer to Bijnor

But it is a matter of regret that prior to these arrangements Bareilly and Moradabad had rebelled on May 31, 1857. All the English had gone from there. We tried our best to conceal knowledge of the news, which was known to at least a few persons, but confirmation of the rebellion at Bareilly and Moradabad was received by the mails at evening time on June 3. In these new circumstances, Mr. George Palmer's stay with the soldiers could on no account be considered

desirable; he was asked to come to Bijnor without fail. He arrived the same night; Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar reached Bijnor with the soldiers in the morning. The following day the soldiers set out for Moradabad.

Impact on Bijnor of the Bareilly Mutiny

The post to Bareilly was closed for several days while the post across the river also could not be arranged. We were extremely upset because of this. It is clear that there were many other Districts whose attention, like ours was fixed on Bareilly. And since Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Badaun, Moradabad, and all the Districts of Rohilkhand had already revolted, what hope could there be that Bijnor - nestled between jungle, mountain and the alluvium of the Ganges - would be able to stand. And when, moreover, there was no defense equipment nor even a small reliable force at the disposal of the Collector? And where Mr. Colebrooke had, in 1812, planted a very big thorny tree -- that is to say, where he had permitted the uprooted and exiled Bhanbu Khan, father of Mahmud Khan, to settle in Najibabad? It was for this reason that this ruined family again became the cynosure of all eyes. Each person in the District for this very reason was viewing himself as the ancient retainer, the loyal and ancestral servant of Mahmud Khan. At an hour of such degradation, all eyes were fixed on him alone. In truth, who was able to counsel that, despite the revolt of the entire Rohilkhand, the English officers would not abandon the District? Yet our Collector continued to persevere in an effort to keep up the administration. His remarkable foresight gave us all hope that, even in such an hour, the District might stand if only another calamity were avoided. We were not to be spared that other calamity, the one whose griefs can never be forgotten.

Mahmud Khan's Third Appearance at Bijnor with Rebellion in his Mind

Mahmud Khan had gone toward Daranagar, where he learned that the Collector was sending the rest of the treasure to Haldaur. The family of Haldaur had a big name and intimidating reputation in the District. If Mahmud Khan had any reason for concern, it was on account of this very family. He calculated that it might be more difficult to achieve his goal if the matter were allowed to proceed in this way. Right after hearing this news, he suddenly came to Bijnor on June 7, 1857, with a party of his comrade Pathans, determined to disclose his changed attitude and to demonstrate its influence. By evening, some more Pathans had come from Najibabad. I think there must have been between 200 and 250 well-equipped Pathan musketeers present with Mahmud Khan that night. The hearts of the Pathans and of the others that had just been taken into service -- and for that matter, the hearts of our old servants, too -- were all fixed on Mahmud Khan. There can be no doubt that they were all siding with him and paying court to him. Is it such a surprise that they may have been his confederates in some secret, too? At this juncture, in Bijnor, the calamity had come upon us that in each person's mind the thought had taken root that the authority of the Government would evaporate and that Mahmud Khan would doubtless set on the throne of Government. Each person who lived in the District thought it necessary to adjust his own behavior to that of Mahmud Khan. On this basis

it can be said that even all our own employees were on the same side as the companions of Mahmud Khan. We had never anticipated they would stand together with us when hard times came. In fact, we had known for a certainty that at the point they would all side with Mahmud Khan.

Report of Mahmud Khan's Intention to Revolt at Night

Chaudhri Partab Singh, landlord of Tajpur, received detailed letters on the same date about the revolts at Bareilly and Moradabad and the faithlessness and disloyalty of Khan Bahadur Khan.[8] He showed all these letters to the Collector. The wretch Mahmud Khan had also received news about the unprincipled Khan Bahadur. With this particular news in hand he had taken the firm decision to become a disciple of Khan Bahadur and to achieve his aims that night. Up to this time, however, we had received no report about this wretch's intent. We knew only this much: he had twice failed to respond to the Collector's summons; and when he did finally call, the Collector himself could observe the arrogance in his utterances and the symptoms of his innermost intentions on his face. Muhammad Sa'iyd Khan, a writer in the Collectorate and a resident in Najibabad, reported to me at eight o'clock that Mahmud Khan intended to revolt that very night because he had become upset over the news that the Collector was sending the rest of the treasure to Haldaur. Muhammad Sa'iyed Khan expected a massacre during the night. I told Muhammad Sa'iyed Khan that he should go at once and devise some strategy to keep the peace. He himself should speak, and he should also make use of Waliy Muhammad to convey information from me to satisfy the Nawab that the treasure would not be sent to Haldaur, nor had there ever been any decision taken to do so.

Thereupon I called Sa'd Allah Khan of Burhapur and enjoined him most forcefully to stop the rebellion and to reason with the Nawab along these lines: if, for example, two Englishmen (God forbid) were to be killed, then what would be the profit? We would be disgraced for disloyalty, and his face would be blackened in God's abode. The Sadr Amin was responsible (he should also argue) for the assurance that the treasure would on no account be sent to Haldaur and that the Collector would never do anything that might show that he accorded more importance to someone else than to the Nawab. So where was the profit to be gained from rebellion, disgrace, and bloodshed?

Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar and myself immediately called on the Collector. The Deputy had also come. After the letters received by Chaudhri Partab Singh, landlord of Tajpur, had been examined and their contents discussed, I gave a detailed report on the entire matter [of Mahmud Khan]. There followed a long discussion about the Magistrates' staying or leaving, and about what would be best action should they give up their responsibilities.

We learned on the same day from Moradabad that a rebel force with two guns was about to leave there for Bijnor. This time, too, we accepted the accuracy of this report and really understood the interest of the rebels in loot and their even greater interest in doing bodily harm to the English officers; still, no one could even conceive of evacuating Bijnor in the face of these troubles. Sometime later, we learned from a thoroughly reliable source that the report had, in fact, been correct. The essence of the account was that when the forty soldiers had reached Moradabad from Bijnor, the soldiers of the disloyal

battalion would not allow them to share in the looted treasure of Moradabad - on the grounds that they had, for no good reason, left the treasure of Bijnor untouched and the English officers unscathed. These soldiers had then decided to take more men and artillery and return to Bijnor to carry out their plans.

In short, there could be no doubt that this was what they had firmly decided to do; that night there was discussion in the hour of council about how to meet this rebel force on its arrival. After listening to these exchanges and searching the minds of these people, I had determined that when they were convinced that the rebel army was enroute to us they would all desert the place so that we would be left without even a pro-English mouse to escort them to asylum across the river Ganges. My view of the case was unquestionably sound and well thought out. The Collector and other more sensible men accepted it.

In short, a decision was at last taken that the memsahib [Mrs. Shakespeare] and the Christian women and children and some men, including Mr. Currie, should leave that very night for Roorkee by way of Muzaffarnagar. Only the Collector - Mr. Alexander Shakespeare and Mr. George Palmer were to stay in Bijnor. This course of conduct was decided on at midnight. Preparations for the departure of Mrs. Shakespeare began. Since Mahmud Khan's evil intentions were now out in the open, it was decided to consult with him about the departure of Mrs. Shakespeare lest - God forbid - some harm come to her if he were uninformed. Accordingly, acting on the instructions of the Collector, I went at midnight to Mahmud Khan in the compound of the residence where he was staying. I found him seated among the crowd of his Pathans. I asked for a private discussion. Mahmud Khan replied at first with a curious pride, "Who is an outsider here? These are all my brother Pathans. Speak!" However, he did, on my insistance to come aside with me arise. I asked him at the outset: "Who has informed you that the treasure is going to Haldaur? This is a complete lie. I am answerable that on no account is the treasure to go." He answered: "I have been disgraced to the last shred of my honor. My Pathans are abusing me right and left because Bahadur Khan is sitting on his ancestral throne while I, poor wretch, must sit in secret. I have eaten the salt of the English; I don't want any Englishman to be killed and my face blackened.[9] If the Englishmen want to live, then they should go from here. If a Pathan kills one of them, what am I to do?"

Besides his oral testimony, the very manner of his utterance was such that only the two who shared the dialogue really knew and understood from evidence that could not be put into a written account that this wretch was determined and ready for rebellion with all his body and soul. I can not describe my thoughts at the time. I was convinced that the English officers would certainly be harmed. "There ought not be any questions of violence or disgrace," I continued to argue with Nawab, "when the matter could be settled otherwise. If you wish it, we can arrange for the ladies and other officers to leave here this very night; the Collector and the Joint Magistrate Bahadur will leave a few days later. Then you will be Nawab and will have achieved your end without any dishonour." I told him other things of this nature suitable to the occasion, so that he agreed that the English officers should not be harmed. He retorted, "What kind of a tiresome business is this that the memsahib [Mrs. Shakespeare] leaves today while the officers go later. If they are to go, then let them all go together today, otherwise, I will be disgraced, since someone may kill them. I have been barely able to hold the Pathans up until this time: my control over them is limited."

The fact of the matter is that Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Allah Khan had employed many men in Najibabad and that his Pathan companions were gathered there in strength. We also can be sure that he had called this group from Najibabad to await the coming of those people. I can cite in proof the fact that that very night many men had already left Najibabad. We were to see many of them enroute as we fled toward Kotlah ourselves. An assembly sufficient for the purpose had gathered about Mahmud Khan at the very same instant that the Collector issued the order for his own departure. If the matter is not as we think, then what cause is there for this sudden appearance in Bijnor of so many men from Najibabad?

Discussion of Administration after the Revelation of Mahmud Khan's Evil Intent to Rebel

When I became convinced that Mahmud Khan had indeed determined to revolt and that he would not change his mind, I told him that we should both go to the Collector and report that it was no longer proper for him to stay here. He said: "I won't go; I have already told him not to stay. I have performed my engagement of loyalty. Now it's up to him to go or stay." Mahmud Khan thereupon went and sat down among his Pathans.

Feeling helpless, I reported everything to the Collector; once again there was discussion about handing over the District and the departure. In such a predicament, with the rebel force enroute from Moradabad and a strong foe nearby and no one among our employees - either new or old - who could be trusted, we three could do little else but offer up our lives. The only way out was for the English to abandon the District in order to save their lives. We all agreed; and our Magistrates also approved, although the Deputy Sahib hesitated at the very first. But finally, even he agreed.

NOTES

1. Caste of Graziers in Punjab and Northwest India.

2. Cloth-merchant.

3. A proprietor and a member of the Tagas, a caste which claimed Brahman status.

4. Revenue officer of a sub-district.

5. Sir Sayyid used the word "Telinga" -- native of Telingana -- for "soldier" in the sense of an Indian Army soldier.

6. Non-commissioned Indian officer.

7. The name Mahmud means the Praised One; the text always identifies him as Na-Mahmud, the Unpraised One.

8. Khan Bahadur Khan, grandson of Rehmat Khan, the Rohilla hero of the 18th Century, who took power in the wake of the revolt in Bareilly on May 31, 1857.

CHAPTER II

Transfer to Power to Nawab Mahmud Khan

Rejection of Administration by the Chaudhris

At the time there was no way out except to hand over the District to that wretch Mahmud Khan, but our Collector, considering the need for prudence and perhaps for the sake of some indirect advantage, asked Chaudhri Randhir Singh, who was landlord of Haldaur, and Chaudhri Pratab Singh, who was landlord of Tajpur, if they would be able to carry on the administration. They had to admit their incapacity for this task. In truth, it was impossible that the people of the District would accept as their ruler anyone other than Nawab Mahmud Khan. In the presence of the Collector, I had asked Chaudhri Randhir Singh if it were possible to assure that the English officers would be safe when the rebel battalion passed through the District. He had to acknowledge that it would be impossible to arrange this matter. In short, all these affairs were settled by two o'clock in the morning. The Collector and Mr. George Palmer also prepared to leave.

I cannot give adequate praise to the civility morality of the Collector, who had such regard for the care of each one of his dependents. It was such a delicate situation; yet he took all the Christian men, women, and children. He also asked what we would do: we reported that we too would flee. The Deputy's family and servants had all already gone to Haldaur. Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar's family, servants, and very small sons and girls were all in Bijnor. The Collector told Sayyid Turab Ali that he regarded them as his own since their safety was as dear to him as his own, and that was the idea of sending his wife and children acceptable, he was ready to take them all. But this matter was very difficult. We reported that, in fact, the dependants of Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar would all go to Kotlah and find safety from there. We could not find words to show our gratitude for the care and attention which had been shown to us. Taking the Collector's leave, Sayyid Turab Ali and myself brought out the baggage for the departure of the women and children. I informed Mahmud Khan that all the English officers were leaving. "Do all you can," I said, "to protect them, since the Collector, after crossing the river, intends to report to Government that this entire District should be conferred on you. Let there be no disorder," I pleaded. These diplomatic remarks pleased Mahmud Khan and gave me confidence that there would now be no violence at all. Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar and I came to the civil station; and immediately after supervising the mounting of the women and children and bringing them near the compound of the Collector, we stopped and presented ourselves to him at three o'clock. We asked the officers in charge of the troopers [or horsemen] to permit a detachment to serve as escorts. Our words left them silent but Qutb-ud-din Risaldar, who had come from Bareilly with the new troopers and

had not yet became close to Mahmud Khan, was ready for this escort duty. Bahadur Ali Jamadar and three or four veteran troopers were got ready. All the elephants were prepared; the troopers also being ready, they reported for duty at the residence. The Collector sent Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar to summon Mahmud Khan. The Collector said: "I am going; I turn over the District to you. Administer it well. Make use of our clerks and look after them." Mahmud Khan then asked for a letter, which I then wrote at the request of the Collector. There is no copy extant, but I am writing what I remember in the hope that there will not even be a difference of wording.

Letter to Muhmud Khan on
Handing Over the District

(Contents of letter for Mahmud Khan from the Collector inscribed in the night between June 6 - 7.) Since the administration is, in fact, entrusted to you for as long as the Government may wish, you must administer it well and must also effectively protect the personal properties of the Collector and the Joint Magistrate that are in the residence and all the property, effects, and government offices. Dated June 7, 1857.

Details of Money and Government Property
in the Treasury at the Time of Writing,
as follows:
(At the Time of Writing, the Account
Detailed Below Included the Rupees
Present in the Treasury and the Well.)

Rupees	Annas	Pie	
96,099	2	4	Treasury Balance including June 7, 1857
2,200	-	-	Dispensaries, Nagina and Najibabad
2,500	-	-	Salaries of Mofussil Clerks
593	-	1	Income of jail factory
150	-	-	Overseer of Scales
6,797	1	11	Cashier's Account
109,439	3	16	

Stamps and Opium

Rupees	Annas	Pie	
38,000	-	-	Stamp Paper
350	-	-	Postage Stamps
3,960	-	-	Opium for Government Purchase Account
3,960	-	-	For Price Increase in the Market Rate for Opium Sales

Departure of the Officers from Bijnor

This letter was given to Mahmud Khan after it was signed. The wretch took it and came out. The Collector then said his farewell; for our part we expressed sadness at this separation. They all came out to the veranda a short while later in order to mount their animals. The Collector and the Joint Magistrate, speaking most kindly, gave me and Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar permission to leave them so that we might collect our women for our own departure. After we left, the Collector and all the officers mounted and took their leave; the Deputy left for Haldaur with Chaudhri Randhir Singh of Haldaur. Understand this fact: All the disloyal veteran sowars (horsemen), along with Bahadur Ali Jamadar, fled from the bank of the Ganges toward Mahmud Khan; the new sowars remained until they reached Roorkee, where they were tried by court martial. Their lives were spared by the favor of the Collector. Mahmud Khan did not even allow the sun to rise properly before he proclaimed himself Nawab by beat of drum in Bijnor with these words: "The People Belong to God; the Country belongs to the King; and Authority belongs to Nawab Mahmud Khan."

Background of the Family of Mahmud Khan

It is proper at this stage to relate something of the story of Mahmud Khan's family. Mahmud Khan is the grandson of Najib Khan, who in the reign of Ahmad Shah [1748] was employed by Dunde Khan to collect revenue on the latter's behalf in Pargana Daranagar, now included in Bijnor District. He married the daughter of Dunde Khan, thereupon becaming the permanent master of that country and obtaining access to the King's Court.

When Aziz-ud-Din Alamgir the Second came to the throne [1753], Najib Khan killed Jit Singh the brigand and extended his sway across the Ganges to add to his country some land that is now located in Saharanpur District. The King's Court conferred on him the title Najib-ad-Daulah Amir-al-Umara etc., Hero of the Realm and Lord of Lords. He built the fort of Pattargarh in 1755 and also founded Najibabad.

When Najib-ad-Daulah died in 1770, Najib Khan's son Zabita Khan succeeded him. In 1774 Shuja-ud-Daulah (1754-75, the Nawab of Awadh) of Lucknow ejected Zabita Khan from this region on account of his failure to meet the money payments due the Marathas to whom Shuja-ud-Daulah was himself accountable. On the recommendation of Nawab Abdul Ahad, Zabita Khan obtained the Imperial grant for Bawani Saharanpur in 1776; he selected to live at Ghausgarh.

His son, Ghulam Qadir Khan, took over after Zabita Khan's death. It was he who blinded Shah Alam [1759-1806]. Maharaja Patel arrested him after a struggle for this crime. After imprisoning him in an iron cage, the Maharaja had him executed by dismemberment. The brother of Ghulam Qadir - Mu'in-ud-din Khan, called Bhambu Khan - went away to the Punjab.

After its conquest of the Districts of Delhi, the English Government summoned Bhambu Khan and showed great consideration to him. He was given a

monthly pension of Rupees 5,000 and ordered to live in Bareilly. As a result of Mr. Colebrooke's report he settled in Najibabad in 1812. Upon his death the English Government on compassionate ground, fixed monthly pensions of Rupees 1,000 for his sons, Mahmud Khan and Jalal-ud-Din Khan, and for his daughters. In addition there was granted to each person of the family a most honorable position, so that they could pass their days with perfect dignity. When a spurious Ghulam Qadir Khan came to the Akbar Shah's [1806-37] Court in Delhi [1247H/1831AD], Bhambu Khan obtained access to the King and secured titles for his sons. The family tree of this disloyal family is set down at this place in my account.

Nawab Mahmud Khan's Geneological Table

Namdar Khan

Qalandar Khan

Inayat Khan

Basharat Khan

Amir Khan

Asalt Khan

Najib Khan

Zabita Khan

Bhambu Khan (Mu'in-ud-din Khan)

Jalal-ud-Din Khan — Mahmud Khan

Ghazanafar Ali Khan

Mu'zzam Ali Khan — daughter (name not known)

Coming to Bijnor of Deputy Collector, Sadr Amin, and Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar; and Meeting with Mahmud Khan

After we left for Kotlah we met many groups of soldiers coming from Najibabad to Bijnor. In Kotlah itself we met Shafi Allah Khan, nephew of Mahmud Khan; he

was also enroute to Bijnor from Najibabad, a fact which confirms all aspects of this nocturnal plot. We stayed a few days in Kotlah. There we wrestled with the questions of where to go and by what means. Orders from Mahmud Khan were constantly being sent to us. In the end, horesemen came to take us to Bijnor. Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar's family set out for Nagina; the Deputy, who was also summoned, came to Bijnor from Haldaur. We all met Mahmud Khan but did not give the presents which he expected.[1] After a short while, he dismissed us with the statement that we should continue to do our work as before. We saw in Bijnor that Ram Saroop was very much in the ascendency and that rebel soldiers were continually being taken into the Nawab's employ through him; their employment had begun from about June 9 or 10.

Appointment of Azmat Allah Khan as Deputy, Ahmad Allah Khan as Deputy Collector, Kalan Khan as Commander, and Habib Allah as Paymaster

Mahmud Khan inaugurated a new administration on the next day. He appointed Azmat Allah Khan - munsif of Thakur Dawarah - as his Deputy, and Ahmad Allah Khan - tahsildar at Najibabad - as Deputy Collector and Joint Magistrate. However, Ahmad Khan maneuvered himself so well that he dominated the Nawab to a degree that he controlled the land revenue and the court. In truth, the Nawab was just a half-blind goat in his hands. Orders were issued to take horsemen and foot soldiers into service. The old office holders of the family were appointed to fill their old posts. Ahmad Yar Khan, called Kalan Khan, was named Commander-in-Chief of the Army; Habib Allah Khan became its Paymaster. I was becoming alarmed as I studied this situation, particularly as the Nawab used to flare up in anger at whoever mentioned the name of the British officers in his presence.

What Strategy Did the Sadr Amin and the Tahsildar Plan?

When the Nawab ordered that we were each to carry on just as before, the three of us - that is, myself, Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar, and Pandit Radha Kishan, Deputy Inspector [of schools] - took council together as a group. We constituted ourselves as a committee and decided that none of us would carry out an assignment until the committee itself had agreed. With respect to our work at this stage, it was decided that Mir Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar of Bijnor should implement only those orders of the Nawab that were of an urgent nature; he was to allow all the others to lie in suspense. Land revenue arrears would also not be collected except for just those funds needed to pay the subordinate employees of the revenue court and the police station. Consequently, this was done; through Bakhshi Ram Tahsildar, who was also well disposed toward the English and shared our secrets, all those who came to pay land revenue were ordered not to pay their money. The delay in submitting the revenue receipts annoyed the Nawab, who began to send urgent orders in coarse language. In the administration of civil law it was decided that I, as Sadr Amin, should carry on with urgent business to the extent possible as, if I were still under English authority and free from any connection with the Nawab. I acted accordingly. I

continued to issue written instructions in open court that such and such matters that were fit to be transmitted to the Judge should be sent on to him. The advantage of this was that the people understood by this procedure that English control remained as before; the Nawab of course found it all most irksome. His enmity toward me was becoming more and more intense, while we for our part were adjusting our actions to the thought that our superiors would certainly be returning to the District very soon.

News Spreads of the Coming to Bijnor of the Rebel Army; Mahmud Khan Plots with Them

Mahmud Khan was most anxious to enter into a plot with the disloyal rebel army stationed in Moradabad. Rumors of their coming nearer to Bijnor grew with each passing day. Letters were also coming with news about their impending departure in our direction. With this eventuality in mind Mahmud Khan dispatched to Dhampur Ram Saroop - Jamadar of the jail and Masa'ib Ali - Dafadar [officer] of the troops, together with some of his trusted men. He also sent letters to Moradabad to inform the rebel army that it would be useless for them to come to Bijnor, as the British had left and taken all the treasure with them. However, Mahmud Khan added, if they wanted to come to Bijnor to enter his service, then they would be most welcome. On receiving this information, the rebels put off coming to Bijnor; and Ram Saroop and the others came back from Dhampur. Mahmud Khan learned a short time later, by some means or other, that the rebel army intended to cross the Ganges at Daranagar Ghat. He therefore addressed orders to the tahsildars for the collection of rations, and issued other orders to the talukdars to send their supplies of rations in to him. I insert here a copy of the written command sent on this subject to Chaudhri Pratab Singh, landlord of Tajpur.

Copy of the Warrant Signed by Mahmud Khan

Illustrious and worthy friend Ghaudhri Pratab Singh, landlord of Tajpur. Peace be on you. Upon learning of the coming of the Moradabad batallion, orders have been issued to the tahsildars of Chandpur and Dhanpur etc. in the matter of arranging for and assembling rations at the camping ground of the army. You are therefore being addressed so that, to the extent possible, you also may be of assitance to them in this matter of arranging and providing rations, etc. Regard this as urgent. Dated June 17, 1857.

Dismissal of Maulvi Qadir Ali as Tahsildar of Nagina

A great many of his relatives gathered around Mahmud Khan at this time. Two thoughts were uppermost in his mind: the need to provide for these relatives and his awareness that certain superior officials in the administration would not suit his purposes because of their pro-British leanings. For these reasons, he first dismissed Maulvi Qadir Ali - Tahsildar of Nagina on June 17, 1857 and appointed in his place Abad Allah Khan, who had been a subordinate employee in

Tahsil Kashipur, Moradabad District. When Maulvi Qadir Ali came to Bijnor after this dismissal, the Nawab payed no attention to him. For his part, the Nawab regarded the dismissal as actually being a blessing; he appreciated the advantages of being removed from these misfortunes. Herewith is an exact copy of this dismissal order as signed by Nawab Mahmud Khan:

Illustrious and worthy Maulvi Abdul Qadir Ali Tahsildar of Nagina. May you be well. For administrative reasons your presence at our Court is unavoidable. You are accordingly informed by order today that you are to turn over your responsibilities to dear and respected brother Muhammad Abad Allah Khan. Do not feel depressed since the court will call you for official duties. Dated June 17, 1857.

Consultation of Mahmud Khan With Sadr Amin And the Latter's Refusal

Mahmud Khan called me - the Sadr Amin - during the night of this same June 17. Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Allah Khan, who was also present, told me the following in confidence: 'We want you to join us and to take an oath to confirm your acceptance. Regard the estate of your choice as your property for generations to come. Take our oath, and we will establish this estate for you forever.' At first I was very frightened about what to say in reply. After an interval of thought, I became convinced that a straightforward and honest statement was always for the best. I stated humbly: "Nawab Sahib! I can certainly take an oath that I will be your well-wisher and that I will not be ill-disposed toward you. However, I cannot join with you if you aim to seize more land or fight against the English." I said: "By God! Nawab Sahib, I speak in your best interest! Remove this thought from your mind. The authority of the English officers will never go. Imagine, if you will, what would happen if the English left all of Hindustan. Except for the English authorities, no one else can rule in Hindustan." "Don't renounce your allegiance to them," I said. "If the British should indeed leave, as you think, you would still remain a Nawab. No one can snatch this from you. And if my view turns out to be correct, you will then be a well-wisher whom the Government will favor and promote. If you want me to share in your administration, ask permission of the Collector and promise at the same time that you will do nothing without first obtaining his approval." If Mahmud Khan had been wise he would have grasped that this advice served his best interests. However, his basic inclination was evil, and he became angry at my words and dismissed me with a frown.

Because we would not give up our pro-English attitude, Mahmud Khan became dead set in his enmity against us. Additional excesses were committed against us. My living quarters were taken away by force and given to his own military officers. These officers took for themselves the effects belonging to me that were locked up in my house. Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar lost his horse when a detachment of thirty soldiers took it away by force. They were determined to harass us at every turn. We kept asking ourselves every minute of the day how we might escape from the Nawab's grip, but this was impossible.

The Collector had not yet left Bijnor when the pioneer troops suddenly wanted to rebel at their jungle station under Captain Reid. Mr. Eastman - the ear doctor, his wife, and Mr. Burton Sergeant and therefore came as a party to Najibabad, where they were put up in the private residence of Mahmud Khan. A troop of horsemen came from Roorkee and took the two officers and their wives safely back with them.

Sending of the Treasure to Najibabad, the Treasurer Under Guard, and Chaudhri Nain Singh's Resistance to the Nawab

Ahmad Allah Khan began at this time to take out the balance of the official treasure from its hiding place in the well; he sent a part of this treasure to Najibabad. Now Mahmud Khan began to harry and oppose each of the landlords. He sent Sawa i Singh Jat with a large detachment to the house of Jamiyat Singh Brahman - landlord of Bijnor - to search for a lady called Panna Pathar. He also called Chaudhri Jodh Singh - landlord of Bijnor, who held on deposit the effects of Mr. Lemaistre, to come to him. For this reason, and also because some person had disclosed that the treasury held on deposit a box of gold coins and jewelry that belonged to Mr. George Palmer, Banke Rai - treasurer of Bijnor - sent some of his own property on the sly to Haldaur. Ram Saroop Jemadar and several rebel soldiers who had been enlisted by him were posted at Banke Rai's place on June 21; there Ram Saroop harassed him and his brother, Beharilal, a great deal, taking some of their money.

From the start of these events, Chaudhri Nain Singh and Chaudhri Jodh Singh Reis of Bijnor determined to oppose the Nawab. They gathered men from the villages; thousands of villagers gathered in Bijnor. The Nawab wanted to pacify the Chaudhris. They both came to the Nawab's residence one evening to discuss the settlement, but this meeting did not take place. After their departure from the residence, the two chaudhris came to the tahsil to tell Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar and myself that they proposed to fight the Nawab and unseat him. We replied that we could not give any advice in this matter since we did not know the views of the English authorities. "Do whatever you think proper, but reflect," we added, "that all the belongings of the Collector and the Joint Magistrate, together with the official treasure and officers, are still on hand. If some misfortune," we said, "should befall this property the English authorities would certainly be displeased."

Arrival of Munir Khan Jihadi; Talks between the Nawab and the Chaudhris

This emergency had not yet arisen when one Munir Khan, a resident of Kanjpura, suddenly came to Bijnor from Nagina; he came as a jihadi [a religious warrior] leading a party of 400 men. Upon receiving word of the trouble, Ahmad Allah Khan, who had gone to Najibabad, came to Bijnor. Ahmad Yar Khan - alias Kalan Khan, Commander-in-Chief, and Nadir Shah Khan - Risaldar, on leave from the Multan Regiment which had come to Bijnor, intervened and brought peace between the Chaudhris and the Nawab. On June 23, 1857, Ahmad Allah Khan and the two

Chaudhris came to the Cutcherry [Court] for a long discussion. Afterwards peace prevailed. The two Chaudhris swore by Ganges water that they would obey the Nawab; Ahmad Allah Khan put a seal on the Qur'ān that he would not mistreat the Chaudhris. For their part, Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Allah Khan put a seal on the Qur'ān at the residence, which they then handed over. Thus there was peace between the two sides. It was agreed on June 24, 1857 to take Rupees four thousand from Banke Rai, treasurer, together with the box belonging to Mr. George Palmer, which had been left in trust. At the same time, the guard was lifted from the house of the treasurer.

Harassment of the Sadr Amin, the Deputy Collector, Tahsildar, and the Deputy Inspector by Munir Khan

Munir Khan Jihadi stirred up a big commotion in Bijnor. He accused us - the Sadr Amin, Rehmat Khan Sahib, the Deputy Collector, and Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar - of being intimates of the English, of helping them to depart in safety from Bijnor, and of plotting and maintaining active correspondence with them. Therefore, we "deserved" to be executed. In truth, we were secretly corresponding with Mr. John Currie and Crawford Wilson. In this effort to do us harm there can, of course, be no doubt about the Nawab's also being implicated. Our death at the hands of the Jihadis would be a nice tactical move for him, since it would serve to keep his own name clear yet at the same time promote his basic aims. Pandit Radha Kishan, the Deputy Inspector, also had to face the further accusation that he had been guilty of the crime of traveling to each center of the District in order to set up Christian schools. In brief, Munir Khan went to such extremes against us that we received a most ominous summons to attend on him "or else".

We were in special difficulty at that time because some of our own messengers at the tahsil had turned against us to side with the Jihadis. In this helpless predicament there was no alternative but to call on him. He opened an exchange with us about the "Jihad Question". I told him that what we were witnessing was not a Jihad in the light of Islamic Law. We left at the conclusion of a dialogue in this vein. The next day Munir Khan went to take up the same "Jihad Question" in an interview with the aforesaid Maulvi 'Alīm Allah, landlord of Bijnor. On inquiry, we learned that the Maulvi had spoken up bravely and offered many arguments to prove that it was not a Jihad in the light of religion. In the tumult that followed, Munir Khan's comrades wanted to cut Maulvi 'Alīm Allah down with their swords but people intervened to save him. After this interview, Munir Khan and his comrades - excepting those few who had abandoned his cause left the next day for Delhi, where they were killed in the conflict.

Dispatch of the Treasury and English Officers' Effects to Najibabad; A Petition to the King

Ahmad Allah Khan then took some money from the treasury and employed many people. He forwarded to Najibabad the effects of the English officers, doctor, and clerks. He opened the official mail that had been received since June 17.

Depending upon his whim, he destroyed some letters; others permitted to be delivered to the addresses. There was such obstruction that dispatch of postal mail ended in Bijnor on June 22.

At this time a commotion arose on arrival of news that Khan Bahadur Khan had obtained an order from Delhi giving his jurisdiction over the entire country of Kathar. Mahmud Khan was upset because Bijnor might be counted as part of the Kathar country. After consulation, it was proposed to send a draft petition to the King in Delhi to request that the District should be conferred upon Mahmud Khan by name. A draft was prepared which was to be taken to Delhi by Amdu Khan.

Ahmad Allah Khan's Tour and Amdu Khan's Departure for Delhi With Petition

Ahmad Allah Khan decided to go on tour after this petition had been drafted. The main object of this tour was to set up his administration and to collect money. He marched out of Bijnor on July 10, 1857 toward Najibabad; on July 13, Amdu Khan set out for Delhi to take the petition marked for the King of Delhi. On this very day Ahmad Allah Khan came to Najibabad from Nagina; from there he reached Dhampur on the 14th. The purpose of this departure from Nagina was to make use of his judicial powers in order to inflict a fine that would allow him to pocket the lakhs [hundreds of thousand] of wealth that Imam Bakhsh - alias Mareh, a blackguard of Sherkot, had been stealing all along from Roop Chand Mahajan. For this part Mareh had prepared his war supplies and gathered his men. He stayed in Sherkot on the alert to resist Ahmad Allah Khan. As a consequence, the latter tarried for several days in Dhampur.

Background of Mareh

Mareh, a Sheikh by social class, was a confirmed bad character. Half the town of Sherkot was formerly in the zamindari of his forefathers. For this reason, he had been called the "big Chaudhri". However, over the years he had become quite indigent and a blackguard besides. Chaudhri Partab Singh used to give his mother Rupees 150 a month. In March 1855, Mareh was sentenced to a year in jail, on a charge of bad behavior at the sessions of Mr. Charles John Wingfield.

Change in English Weights and Making of New Weights with the Words "Royal Seal"

After Mahmud Khan had sent the petition to the King of Delhi, he developed an obsession of displaying at least some signs of royal rule and of wiping out the chief symbols of the Government's authority. On July 18, therefore, he decided to end circulation of the eighty rupees - weight seer that was current by orders of the English Government and replace it by the old seer measure at the weight of 100 rupees. The words "royal seal" were to be stamped on the new seers.

Orders were issued to carry out this change. The new seer weight was also prepared infrequently in scattered places in the tahsil of Najibabad and Nagina. However, this order was never carried out in Bijnor during the administration of Sayyid Turab Ali, though it was carried out afterwards even there.

Royal Seal

Meeting of Ahmad Allah Khan with Mareh to Settle Differences

All the Hindus and Muslims united to support Ahmad Allah Khan after he reached Dhampur. The Chaudhris of Sherkot also gave every evidence of their submission to the authority of Ahmad Allah Khan. On their coming to Dhampur on July 19, 1857, these Chaudhris met Ahmad Allah Khan in order to pay their respects to him. The landlords of Sherkot also cooperated with Ahmad Allah Khan. Each one of them was deeply concerned to ward off the anticipated danger from Mareh. At this time, however, Mareh was by no means weaker than Ahmad Allah Khan, and so the latter wanted to make peace with him. Towards this end, he threw his most reliable allies into the breach. For Ahmad Allah Khan, the big advantage of this tactic was to place at his disposal in the District a confirmed bad character, who could be a very good and energetic tool to do all kinds of mischief.

And so this strategy of his was set afoot and Mareh agreed to peace. On July 22, 1857, riding an elephant he came with full honors to Dhampur, where he paid his respects to Ahmad Allah Khan. He presented four gold coins and some rupees as an offering. He also took off his sword and placed it before Ahmad Allah Khan. Ahmad Allah Khan was greatly pleased. He retied the sword on Mareh's waist and permitted him to leave for Sherkot that very day.

Ahmad Allah Khan in Sherkot

Ahmad Allah Khan went to Sherkot on July 23; there Mareh welcomed him and gave a feast for him and his camp. Ahmad Allah Khan settled Rupees one hundred a month on Mareh and put him in charge of mobilizing men and laying up grain for the camp. Those people who had suffered at Mareh's hands, when they saw fortune smile upon him and the tide turn against themselves, following verse:

We expected friendly gestures and treatment from our friends,

Whatever we thought was nothing but error.

On July 24, Ahmad Allah Khan went to the house of Chaudhri Umrao Singh. After presenting Rupees five hundred to Ahmad Allah Khan, the Chaudhri gave every evidence of his own fidelity to him.

Harsh Demand for Balances Due from Chaudhri Umrao Singh

Ahmad Allah Khan summed up in his character all that was wicked and violent. Nawab Mareh Khan Blackguard Bahadur was the very man who could still give him lessons in both these respects as his ally. Overnight the level of violence increased tenfold. Their special target became Chaudhri Umrao Singh, rated in the District as being very rich but also its weakest personage. Taking him as their "golden bird", the two began to make trouble for the Chaudhri. A message was sent that his land revenue, about Rupees twelve thousand, should be paid at once. Mahmud Khan in Bijnor and Shafi Allah Khan and Azmat Allah Khan in Najibabad began to send soldiers, rations, etc. as war supplies to Ahmad Allah Khan. The artillery which had come from Nagina to Bijnor through the intercession of Nathe Khan was also sent, together with ammunition, to Sherkot, where it arrived on July 27.

Attempts at Compromise

Although this affair concerned only Chaudhri Umrao Singh of Sherkot, Mahmud Khan and his advisors were quite fearful about the reactions of the Chaudhris of Haldaur, and also of Chaudhri Pratab Singh Reis of Tajpur, whom they viewed as a man who led a community and was responsible for the revenues of lands held in common. Mahmud Khan feared that they might intervene on Umrao Singh's behalf. To ward off this danger, on July 27 Mahmud Khan sent Nadir Shah Khan, Hasan Raza Khan, and Chaudhri Nain Singh and Chaudhri Jodh Singh - both landlords of Bijnor - to Tajpur and Haldaur. Through these intermediaries, he appealed to the Chaudhris to intervene and bring about a compromise between Chaudhri Umrao Singh and himself.

Arrival of Royal Decree

After the departure of these people, Amdu Khan, who had taken Mahmud Khan's petition to the King, returned to Bijnor on July 28, 1857 with a royal decree addressed to Mahmud Khan. Lala Mathra Das, father of Lala Banke Rae - Treasurer, also came with him from Delhi. Amdu Khan gave the decree to Mahmud Khan. The text follows in full, dated July 21, 1857, Zil-Qadah 21st, regnal year 28.

From Muhammad Bahadur Shah Badshad-i Ghazi
Abu al-Zafar Siraj al-Din[2]

"Our Special Lieutenant, worthy of kindness and favors, Amir-ud-Daulah, Dhia-ul-Mulk, Muhammad Mahmud Khan, victorious in battles and deserving of many honors, should know this: that we examined his letter of application explaining in detail the deterioration of public tranquility, the general breach

of law and order, the destruction wrought by anti-social elements in all the villages and parganas, and his corresponding efforts to carry on the administration by raising foot and mounted soldiers; and also indicating his and his ancestors' good will, influence and loyalty for this Exalted Court; and supplicating to be confirmed in the position of administrator, like his ancestors.

In fact, the ancestors of our Special Lieutenant [Nawab Mahmud Khan] well-deserved the kindness of preceding sovereigns. Also, this man worthy of kindness and favors [i.e. Nawab Mahmud Khan] has left no stone unturned in order to please and serve Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur.[3] This has pleased us, and in view of this he deserves consideration and concessions. If he continues to render good service, as he did in the past, he will deserve many more imperial favors, and his application for the exclusive administration of the District will achieve the status of acceptance. However, until he receives a diploma of investitute (*sanad-i mustanad*) from our Exalted Self he should keep in trust the total land revenue [of his area], after deducting the expenses of his army and administrative personnel, and then send it yearly to our Treasury, which does favors. Moreover, the vast amount of currency which he has acquired from the Collector's Treasury, plus their belongings and horses that he came to possess after the flight of the British -- all these things and others he should send to us as soon as possible through Mathra Das and the two Imperial mounted soldiers who will soon reach there. This would demonstrate the loyalty and sincerity of our Special Lieutenant, and will eventually result in his rising several grades of rank, and general progress. Therefore try to realize many blessings [which lie ahead]".

I think that Mathra Das did not have any special influence in the Delhi Court, since for a long time he had not been counted among the Reis of Delhi. He always stayed outside the city. When Amdu Khan went to Delhi and learned that the King was demanding money and treasure of the English, it is no wonder that he should have had Mathra Das' name written down since he was able to squeeze Mathra Das at will and keep the upper hand over him. In addition, relations between the Nawab and Mathra Das were decidedly unpleasant, since Mathra Das was deeply agitated about the problem of extracting his son from the Nawab's grip. He, himself, told the story to Sayyid Turab Ali and myself on his arrival in Bijnor. His one aim appeared to be to take part in the matter of the firman so that he could obtain sufficient influence over the Nawab to secure the release of his son. Up till the very end, we could not detect any kind of attachment between the Nawab and him.

NOTES

1. Their unwillingness to give presents to the Nawab at this time would imply that they did not regard working under his orders as a "new employment" for themselves, that they did not recognize him as a sovereign ruler.

2. Written in Persian, the imperial *farman* is couched in the traditional formal style of the Mughal Court.

3. Sir Sayyid then adds in parenthesis: "That is when Mirza Shahrukh came on a hunt in this district during 1844".

CHAPTER III

Nawab Mahmud Khan's Relations with Hindu Landlords

More Pressure of Ahmad Allah Khan on Umrao Singh and Request for Lakhs of Rupees

On this very day, that is on July 28, the people who had set out for Bijnor to strive for a compromise, reached Tajpur. In Sherkot, meanwhile, Ahmad Allah Khan made such an additional demand for payment of the outstanding debts that at first, the Chaudhris, did promise something. When their offer was rejected they then agreed to give some cash; when this, too, proved unacceptable they decided to give all the money in one lump sum. This money was taken from the village fortress on elephants. However, it was not brought to Ahmad Allah Khan, because they calculated that the money would be wasted as an effort to preserve the peace.

The present is a good time to make the point that Mahmud Khan and his agents possessed no authority or title to collect the balances due on land revenue. For this very reason, this permission was not included in the authority he had received from the Collector. Its terms had been drawn up with this reasoning in mind: that if Mahmud Khan were to carry out his administrative duties with good will and in an obedient spirit as a well-wisher of the government, then the cash money left behind in the treasury would be enough for him. If, therefore, Chaudhri Umrao Singh had gone so far as to refuse to pay the arrears, then this, still, would not be in the least improper on his part. In short, then, we find Ahmad Allah Khan still intent on violence even when the Chaudhris are about to pay off the balances due. All this must stand as transparent proof that Ahmad Allah Khan's intention was evil and that the policy of antagonizing the Chaudhris had his full approval.

First Fighting in Sherkot

On this very day, Chaudhri Umrao Singh sent his paternal uncle, Ghasa Singh, with a message of peace. Ahmad Allah Khan replied to this gesture by arresting the uncle on the spot. With no compromise in the offing, tension grew apace until the moment of actual fighting came. Chaudhri Umrao Singh was beseiged in his village fortress together with about four hundred soldiers, mostly musketeers, and considerable supplies, including ammunition. Ahmad Allah Khan fired his artillery at the residence of Chaudhri Shivraj Singh and Lachman Singh, zamindars of Sherkot. With the support of some residents of the Kotrah quarter, Mareh joined in the attack at the same time. The residences of the zamindars was looted. Shivraj Singh, who was the maternal uncle of the Chaudhris of Haldaur, was killed, together with his wife and daughter-in-law. Fateh Chand

Makhanlal was also robbed; he was killed along with some of his men. Many houses were set alight, and many Hindus and some women were killed. When the fortress came under attack, the musketeers inside responded with heavy fire that did considerable damage to Ahmad Allah Khan's force. Basant Singh was burned at about four o'clock when a small amount of gunpowder was set alight near him. Firing ceased at evening.

Departure of Lala Mathra Das to Tajpur for a Settlement

We heard in Bijnor that sparks from the matchlock of a musket had fallen by accident into the powder. Perhaps this is so, but Chaudhri Umrao Singh told us later in Meerut that Nabi Bakhsh, his servant, had deliberately started the fire. If this had been the case, however, then he would have set alight a very large stock of gunpowder. In any event, most of the Chaudhri's servants, who were also inhabitants of the Kotra quarter, fled in the night after conspiring with Mareh. Their defection set off a great commotion in the fortress. The news reached Bijnor on the twenty-ninth and Mahmud Khan at once proposed to send Mathra Das to Tajpur to reach a compromise. Accordingly, he left Bijnor the same night for Tajpur.

Flight from the Fortress of Chaudhri Umrao Singh and the Arrest of Basant Singh

Mahmud Khan showed "praiseworthy accumen" in his choice of persons to send to settle these differences. They were an example of the "wonderous excellence and affection" of Mahmud Khan. Chaudhris Nain Singh and Jodh Singh, for example, were two persons who were ready to fight with Mahmud Khan right there and then, since a deep desire for revenge was in their hearts. And Mathra Das was the man whose son had been put under guard and constantly harrassed by the Nawab. In short, Mathra Das had still not reached Tajpur when Chaudhri Umrao Singh fled from his fortress on the same day - that is, July 29, 1857 - to reach the same place. During this commotion his women, too, went into hiding in a village. But Chaudhri Basant Singh, being incapacitated, was hiding in some secret place in the Kotra quarter, where Ahmad Allah Khan arrested him.

Ahmad Allah Khan entered the fortress. Volleys of victory and drumrolls of congratulation sounded. It is well known that when Ahmad Allah Khan entered the fort, the temple which stood nearby was also damaged. When he was informed of this damage, Ahmad Allah Khan thought it expedient to put a guard on the temple to protect it from further damage and thus avert a fresh outbreak of violence. The arrogance of Ahmad Allah Khan and of "Nawab Mareh Khan Bahadur" waxed in the wake of this victory. Mahmud Khan greatly rejoiced when this news came to Bijnor on July 30, the very day when Lala Mathra Das reached Tajpur.

Everything in the fortress came into Ahmad Allah Khan's possession -- ammunition, weapons, rations, and equipment. It is surmised that the money and jewelry of Chaudhri Umrao Singh that had been kept in the fortress for

safekeeping must also have come into Ahmad Allah Khan's hands, since he stayed undisturbed in the fortress for several days in order to load his elephants with cash and goods to be sent to Najibabad. Chaudhri Umrao Singh later told us the same story; however, there are some reliable people who say that Ahmad Allah Khan did make a search but was only able to take the things that were visible on the surface -- goods, cash, and grain -- while the old treasure that had been buried in secret outside the fortress in bastions and houses was spared. Of course, the facts are such that only Chaudhri Umrao Singh can know the truth.

The Chaudhris Ready to Resist Ahmad Allah Khan

The Chaudhris held a round of discussions amongst themselves, in view of their over-riding concern at this heavy blow against one of the leading men of the District. With one voice, they agreed to make an effort to take back the fortress from Ahmad Allah Khan and to mobilize their men at Dhampur. On July 31, 1857 the following leaders banded together: Chaudhri Randhir Singh and Chaudhri Budh Singh, landlords of Haldaur, with two artillery pieces; Chaudhri Pratab Singh with a jezail; and the Chaudhris of Kant with an artillery piece. In one village after another, the drums were sounded to mobilize the population; this call to mobilize was heard everywhere in the District. As hostages for Ghasa Singh and Basant Singh, the Chaudhris seized Nadir Shah Khan, Hasan Raza Khan, and Thabit Ali Khan, who were relatives of Mahmud Khan and his agents at Dhampur. At the same time they killed two troopers of the Nawab.

The Nawab was in a tight corner as a result of this mobilization. His men were being seized and killed wherever they went. Some of his soldiers were killed in the village of Nangal. Some of his letters that had been dispatched to Ahmad Allah Khan were also taken. I saw in Chaudhri Umrao Singh's possession an authentic letter sent by Mahmud Khan from Bijnor and another equally authentic letter of Azmat Allah Khan. I write at this point the exact text of sentences in these letters that deal with this contest:

Selection from a Signed Letter of Mahmud Khan
Dated July 31, 1857, Afternoon

Have someone fetch and bring to my court at noontime Ghasa Singh, Basant Singh, and Umrao Singh, too, if he has come. It is not necessary to leave them there. Even if you have excused their fault, take them with you since the disturbance is not dispelled.

The villagers of Nangal, located near Haldaur, have stopped and killed about half a dozen and wounded eight of the fifty men of your following that you, the prosperous one, gave leave to go to Bijnor. Such mischief-makers must be punished. Information from you on the following is also important. It is necessary that you load and bring the money, powder, and arms that you took at Sherkot. It is improper to abandon these things under any circumstances. Violence has now spread everywhere on account of the clash at Sherkot. It is improper to release Ghasa Singh, etc. under any circumstances.

Again, I do not propose to restrain myself in dealing with these mischief-makers before there is a settlement. In any event, it is proper to demolish completely the fortress at Sherkot so that these people may never again have the courage to fight. It is most essential to destroy the buildings in those places over which God may give you victory.

Selections from a Seized Letter
Written by Azmat Allah Khan (Undated)

It is known from those coming from Sherkot that you, the light of my eyes, have sent Ghasa Singh for Umrao Singh. The matter can be put in this way: The effects in the fortress can be seized without exception when it has been taken after resistance and casualties. Also well known from former times is the rule that a man pledges his life for his wife and land. God Almighty has given you the fortress with its effects and money. You ought to re-establish your authority and not concern yourself about the mischief-makers. God Almighty will now reward you even more.

I believe you must have with you about twenty-five hundred men. Concentrate your mind on God in this situation and send letters in all directions to mobilize men. I have sent two hundred soldiers. They must have already arrived; if not, they will soon be in Nagina. I will send more today.

The Cause for Immemorial Enmity Between
Hindus and Muslims

Before this fighting there had never been a dispute, nor feelings of hatred, nor even a religious altercation, between Hindus and Muslims of this District. On the contrary, Muslim servants prevailed in numbers in the houses of the Chaudhris. Hindus were employed in the same way, as soldiers, etc. at the Nawab's palace. However, in this fighting, the growth of hatred between Hindus and Muslims became more and more unavoidable. On the one side there was the group of Hindu leaders, while there was the group of Muslim leaders on the other side. To the extent that the Hindus reinforced their position, it was unavoidable that this new support was exclusively Hindu. The same happened for the Nawab; the support which he brought together was all Muslim. So it was that the growth of the dispute between Hindus and Muslims became unavoidable. Besides this factor, events had been continually taking place which led to an increase in religious hatred. For example, the Hindu temples in Sherkot were damaged by Muslims, while in Chittawar and Sowaheri, Hindus damaged the mosques. Also, Hindus singled out Muslims for killing or Hindus were singled out for killing by Muslims. The whole story will appear in what is to follow.

This hatred grew so intense that it proved impossible to rescue Hindus whenever the Muslims had the upper hand, or to rescue Muslims whenever the Hindus had the upper hand. This hatred became so bitter that no one could put any credence in what Muslims said about Hindus and vice versa. It became extremely difficult to obtain a true account of the situation in the District - that is, an account that might be free of malice. I can say that Chaudhri

Budh Singh's intentions had appeared quite good up to the first battle of Haldaur and that he sincerely wanted peace in the District. Nonetheless, while we were there, Hindus attacked the mosque in Haldaur in order to destroy it. Chaudhri Budh Singh himself went to the spot to end the disturbance. Chaudhri Budh Singh's good intentions up to that time will also be clear in the account which I will give.

Arrival of Royal Decree of Mir Sadiq Ali and Rustom Ali Reis of Chandpur

Events were proceeding at Dhampur and Sherkot in the manner we are relating. At Chandpur, however, the folly of Mir Rustom Ali and Sadiq Ali created another kind of disturbance. They received an answer to the petition which they had sent to the King of Delhi. They were overjoyed. The text of the *farman* is as follows:

"Copy of the Imperial *Farman* dated Dhil at-Haj 5, twenty-first year of the Reign, corresponding to July 27, 1854. *Sayadat panah, Najabat dastagah* Sayyid Rustam Ali and Sayyid Sadiq Ali, who deserve high honors, should know: Their letter of application was received by the Imperial Majesty, and it disclosed to him their affairs; and the destruction of the villages and hamlets and of Chandpur; and the general conditions of oppression and destruction prevalent there; and their desire to obtain Imperial support and help, and specifically to hire new soldiers (mounted and foot) and to collect the revenue from the agricultural land in order to pay the salaries of the employees. Since the elimination of lawlessness and the breach of peace is desired by us, so that comfort be given to the citizens, it is hereby firmly ordered that you may hire a few mounted and foot soldiers according to your needs. You should also try to gain the collaboration of *numberdars* [village revenue collectors], *qanungos* [officer dealing with revenue laws], *patwaris* [village accountants], and other respectable citizens. You should spare no efforts to establish the administration so that no powerful individual would dare to oppress and terrorize the weaker, and so that the arrears of revenues may be easily collected and the cultivator is encouraged to increase his agricultural produce.

"After you deduct a certain share of the revenue, and the amount to cover the salaries of the employees and the soldiers, the remainder - together with a statement of income and expenditure - should be sent to the Imperial Majesty. Faithful services rendered by you will be called to the favorable consideration of the Imperial Majesty."

Rustom Ali and Sadiq Ali are full brothers. It would be the height of nonsense to go so far as to call Sadiq Ali a sensible man, and Rustom Ali is a complete simpleton. He had no connection at all with these matters; we could even extend this assertion to include domestic affairs. Whatever he does is really done by Sadiq Ali. These people belong to the Barha Sayyids and descend from Sayyid Mahmud who received the post in Akbar's reign at the royal court. Before his coronation Shah Jahan made Shuja at Khan, his successor, a great *amir* [noble] and close friend. To honor his patron, Shuja at Khan founded Jahanabad, still to be found on the Ganges. His grave, too, is located in that very place. Shuja at Khan took Jehangir's side in the latter's conflict with Shah Jahan. Therefore, his status declined in the reign of Shah Jahan. Having

built up zamindari and taluqdari estates in the District, he and his descendants settled at Chandpur. To this day they posses zamindari holdings in several villages and are called Reis.[1]

Copy of Nadir Shah Khan's Undated Letter Sent as a Peace Message by the Hand of Ghasa Singh

Ghaudhri Sahib: You who are kind and compassionate to all sincere persons. May God Protect you! Your letter came and the situation was understood. One Ghasa Singh has been sent to you, as promised. Infinite consideration has been shown to the Hindus. The utmost has been done to satisfy Basant Singh. His rents and the whole of his property and effects have been turned over to him. Two villages have been granted to him as estate to make up for the damage to him. Out of the terms of our promise there remains to be arranged the departure of one who is at Najibabad with Ahmad Allah Khan. He is so hemmed in that all you sahibs should disperse to your individual places so that the roads may be clear. Then he too will depart.

I learn that men on both sides have gathered in large numbers and that these numbers are increasing. Violence in such circumstances will mean the slaughter of thousands. Since God has fully preserved the honor you risked in coming here and there is no short change in the settlement, you should say a prayer of thanksgiving and return to your homes. You should regard what has been done up to this point as confirming my statement; the rest, upon my reaching Bijnor. Additional commitments will then be honored, and even more. Your ancestors received patronage from this family; more such patronage will be shown, but only after a settlement. In the future important questions will be referred to you, as was stated in your memorandum. In the future, you will enjoy all types of authority in keeping with the support you may give to my situation. This letter was written without the knowledge of the Nawab. Disclosure of its contents is a base act. Nadir Khan.

Background of Nadir Khan

Nadir Shah lived in Rampur or Moradabad. Ahmad Allah Khan used to speak of him as a distant relative. He served for some time as a risaldar [non-Commissioned officer] in a government regiment. Experienced and crafty, he took leave from the Multan Regiment in order to reach the mutiny that took place in Bijnor after the Collector had gone away. The Nawab employed him. He fled from Sherkot after Ahmad Allah Khan's defeat and nobody saw him again thereafter.

Second Fight at Sherkot and Defeat of Ahmad Allah Khan

The Chaudhris then released Thabit Ali Khan, whom they had held in custody, as a gesture to keep the peace and to secure the release of Chaudhri Basant Singh. The latter was able to return in a palanguin to join up with the

Chaudhris' camp. Immediately upon Basant Singh's reaching them - that is, on August 5, 1857, fighting broke out. Ahmad Allah Khan was beseiged at the outset in the same way he had beseiged his innocent opponents a few days previously. A part of his men stayed outside where the field of battle heated up.

Looting and arson began in Sherkot. The Kotra quarter was completely destroyed. Many Muslim men and also some women were killed. One of Ahmad Allah Khan's artillery pieces burst; another fell off its carriage. Despite these setbacks, those of his troopers who were British-trained behaved manfully. The Chaudhris also fought well. In the end, Ahmad Allah Khan's man were beaten. They gave up the field to the Chaudhris. Fighting ceased that day with Ahmad Allah Khan beseiged in the fortress. During the night, Ahmad Allah Khan made good his escape with some of his men going to Najibabad by way of Nagina after loading his broken artillery pieces on an elephant. The victorious Hindu landlords then took over the fortress.

Attack by Maharaj Singh on Bijnor

On this very day - that is, on August 5, 1857, Chaudhri Maharaj Singh of Haldaur, who was then at Haldaur in alliance with Chaudhri Nain Singh and Chaudhri Jodh Singh - Reis of Bijnor, who had come from Dhampur by way of Haldaur to Jehalar, decided to attack Mahmud Khan in Bijnor. They set out from Haldaur at night. At 5:30 AM on August 6, 1857 they arrived suddently before Bijnor with an that included an artillery piece, several jizails, and about 4,000 men. The noise of their kettle-drums and tabors reached the city, and their banners could be seen from the tops of tall buildings. A *nautch* [dance] was in progress at this hour at Mahmud Khan's residence. He started up from this dream of carelessness to ask each person, "What is this? Who is this? And why are they coming?" How sad that I was not present to reply, "Your Highness, you are about to be enlightened!"

NOTES

1. Sir Sayyid's biographer relates the reasons why he refused the grant of these properties at Chandpur as a reward for his services: Maulana Altaf Hasain Hali, *Hayat-i-Jawid* (Lahore: 1966) pp. 116-117.

CHAPTER IV

Battle of Bijnor and Defeat of Nawab Mahmud Khan

The Nawab's soldiers were alerted by this time; Sa'd Allah Khan, the munsif at Amroha, who had joined up with the Nawab, mounted an elephant and took some troopers with him to see what was happening. After viewing the Chaudhris' army he returned to Mahmud Khan with information that they were attacking. Mahmud Khan turned pale and nearly swooned. In the meantime, Chaudhri Nain Singh and Chaudhri Jodh Singh reached the bazaar of Bijnor mounted on horses. Sayyid Turab Ali and I were standing at the door of the tahsil at this very moment. I asked Chaudhri Jodh Singh what was happening. He answered with a shout that the Nawab had thrown dust on his *Nawabi* [rule] with his own hand and that we would soon see what was to happen.

In a short while, the two Chaudhris had blocked the roads of the city and posted men to assure that the city would be safe from outsiders and would-be looters. These arrangements were carried out so well that, truly, the safety of the city that day was entirely the work of the two landlords. The Muslims did not take any steps to help the Nawab that day against the Hindu landlords. Seeing that matters had come to such a pass, the Nawab perforce mounted an elephant and went to the field with those men of his army who were on hand, about 400 men and 30 or 40 horsemen.

The actual clash took place at the Bukhara Gardens. An initial volley of muskets was fired on both sides. As a result, there were four wounded and one dead on the Chaudhris' side; I did not see any wounded nor any dead body on the Nawab's side. However, people say that there were some dead and wounded among the Nawab's men too. Meanwhile, the Nawab's troopers scattered to attack the artillery piece, when suddenly there was a round of fire from it and from each of the jizails.

On hearing the noise of the artillery piece, the Nawab turned his elephant towards his residence, from where he fled, after seating his younger son on the elephant, too. His elder son, Ghazanfer Ali, escaped barefoot on horseback. His men and troopers scattered for their lives and the Nawab suffered a shameful defeat. Mahmud Khan and Sa'ad Allah Khan reached Najibabad with their small escort by way of Mandawar. Ahmad Allah Khan had already reached Najibabad a short time before, after running away from Sherkot. There, the throng of fugitives fell into each other's arms for a good cry.

Burning of the Residences and Government Offices, and Looting of the Treasury

Directly after this victory, the three Chaudhris [Hindu landlords] set up their quarters in the Collector's residence, which Mahmud Khan had just vacated. The villagers could not be controlled, for, to tell the truth, they had joined in the fighting solely for loot. In a sudden swoop, they set alight the bungalow of Mr. George Palmer and the straw barracks of the troopers which Mahmud Khan had built. General looting started. In addition, a listing of looted items would include: the effects of those locally-born Christians which had been loaded in carts for dispatch to Najibabad; the effects of Mahmud Khan; and the collections of books, music, and miscellaneous goods of the Collector that were still in his residence; official treasury items such as opium, stamped paper, and postage stamps; the furniture, goods, and equipment in the jail and dispensary; and finally, the money in the residence, estimated by some at Rs. 17,000. It is most probable that the actual amount was close to this figure. However, the empty residence of Mr. Lemaistre, escaped undamaged because of the contrivances of Chaudhri Jodh Singh. It is notorious that the villagers had been pledged to spare the city and Lemaistre's residence but no one placed any value on the Government's offices or its property and effects.

The by now excited villagers next attacked the cutcherry (court building), to loot the English reference books and the volumes of survey maps. They looted whatever could be looted. After thatching had been thrown inside, the Collectorate and Criminal Courts were set alight; miscellaneous bundles from other rooms were taken out one after another to be thrown on this burning fire. The roof of some burning rooms of the cutcherry fell in. The neat offices of the Criminal Court, the Collectorate, the Sadr Amini, and the Registrar of Deeds, all of whose files had just been arranged alphabetically, were thus turned into ashes.

A Proclamation by the Chaudhris - the Hindu landlords - in Bijnor and its Strange Features

The quarter of Bijnor known as Pakka Bagh, separate from the city and near the jail, was looted and burned for two days during this commotion. It was at this time that a proclamation was heard in Bijnor, in the name of the Chaudhris, to the effect that: The People Belong to God, the Country Belongs to the King, and the Government Belongs to Chaudhris Nain Singh and Jodh Singh of Bijnor and the Chaudhris of Haldaur. Boom! Boom! On hearing these words, I was reminded of the power of God. When I heard this proclamation, I said to myself, 'Good God! We have been used to reading that two kings cannot exist in one country, and here we have five kings in one District! No! No! Perhaps it would be more suitable to talk of ten mendicants sharing one woolen blanket!'

In short, no harm came to the people of Bijnor in this affray. A trooper came to the tahsil office from Maharaj Singh at one o'clock, when we were both sitting behind closed doors, in order to call us for an interview. When we arrived, our hearts throbbed to see flames shooting out of the windows of the Government offices. Particularly bitter was the sight of the looting of the Government opium then going on. After a while we returned to the tahsil. At

four o'clock all the Chaudhris came to the tahsil; and a few minutes later Chaudhri Maharaj Singh set out for Haldaur with a small escort, while Chaudhri Nain Singh and Chaudhri Jodh Singh took over the administration and protection of Bijnor and its people.

Killing of Muslims at Sawaheri and Chitawar; the Looting of Mosques

Most of the villagers returned to their villages by evening. While enroute, a group of these villagers looted Muslim weavers at Khari and killed some of them. The Jats of Sawaheri looted some rich Muslim hucksters of that place and broke down their mosque. On August 8, 1857 the Jats of Chitawar killed Asghar Ali, an honorable person with whom they had been feuding for a long time. They dragged his corpse by the leg with a rope and destroyed the mosque of Chitawar. In Bijnor city itself, a dispute took place between the Muslims and the Gujari in the chainmens' quarters; one man was killed and there were wounded on both sides. The Gujars looted this quarter and also the Qadi's quarter. Muslims were about to be slaughtered when Chaudhri Nain Singh came to stop the violence.

Such incidents continued to spread uninterruptedly; the tree of Hindu-Muslim aversion for each other, which had been planted in the fighting at Sherkot, became very tall and too firmly rooted to be dug out. Chaudhri Nain Singh and Chaudhri Jodh Singh were alert to this danger and Hindu-Muslim disputes did not increase. They quieted the Muslims and admonished the Hindus, but they had no legal and regular force of men to heed their orders. Those villagers, on the other hand, did they understand the gist of the Chaudhris' efforts?

The Chaudhris of Haldaur and the Chaudhri Sahib of Tajpur returned to their own places after these victories. The Chaudhris of Bijnor stayed in Bijnor, while Chaudhri Umrao Singh and Chaudhri Basant Singh took up quarters on August 8, 1857 in the fortress at Sherkot.

The Armies on Both Sides and The State of the Artillerymen

I do not think it out of place to say something here about the forces on both sides. All the Nawab's troops were salaried employees. Most of them had their own muskets, which they knew how to shoot. Many of the Pathans were even crackshots; and about 40 Telengana rebel soldiers, whose officer was Ram Saroop - Jemadar of the jail, were very well-trained soldiers indeed. The others were weavers and carders who had never held anything in their hands save cotton thread. The Nawab's troopers were very good, particularly a few troopers of Government regiments who were present then in the District. They knew all types of warfare; and while they did not train many to be well-disciplined troopers, they did make sepoys out of them.

On the Chaudhris' side, however, there was nothing but men called from hither and yonder, for when the rustic bugle beat against the ears of these villagers they used to come together in droves. The Chaudhris who had mobilized them had to keep on feeding them with *chappatis* [wheat cakes] and other food day and night. This expense was very heavy for the Chaudhris. For a time, thousands gathered around Chaudhri Partab Singh - Reis of Tajpur, who fed between five and six thousand men. Because of Chaudhri Partab Singh, many men rallied for the attack on Sherkot. The very large mobilization at Dhampur and the participation of the Chaudhris of Kant with their men were possible only because of Chaudhri Partab Singh. And for this very reason, the expense of feeding them all was very heavy for the Chaudhri Sahib. The Chaudhris of Haldaur carried the burden of feeding their villagers in the same way for a very long time. With my own eyes I saw the Chaudhris feeding villagers day and night at Haldaur. At any one time, whether day or night, one could see between two and three hundred men sitting and eating there. The Chaudhris of Bijnor, too, bore the same expenses to the limit of their strength.

As for the villagers, they had mobilized simply out of greed for loot. The only thing that had substance and meaning for them was looting. Their sense of discipline was extremely limited. They just did what they wanted to do. Quite often they even cursed and railed before the Chaudhris themselves. The hapless Chaudhris had to submit. As for their fighting mettle, the courage of these villagers was such that they would take to their heels at the sight of someone among them falling down dead or wounded. Even if bound with ropes, they still would not stand their ground. Quite a few used to say: "O Brother! you ran as fast as you could to fill up on puris [fried wheat cakes] and now you are running away!" Nobody used to listen. Their weapons were limited; out of the largest throng, only a few - say, less than ten - possessed muskets. Most had spears, broken swords, or pole-axes; others had only crude clubs.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the defeat of the Nawabs was due to accidental circumstances. No sensible person who knew the state of affairs on both sides would dream of saying that this mob of rustics had conquered the Nawab's army. The true cause of these two victories was that the Nawab had only two pieces of artillery at the time, and both were at Sherkot. One suffered a gunburst; the other fell over. Ahmad Allah Khan fled from the fortress out of fear that he would not be able to face the artillery of the Chaudhris and out of shock at seeing the mass of his opponents. Mahmud Khan did not have any artillery at Bijnor. In those early days there was much fear of artillery, but later experience taught us the lesson that nobody can die from a Hindustani artillery piece.

Condition of the Artillery

I feel a sincere need at this point to say something about the artillery. The artillery and artillerymen on both sides were of such caliber that if the Himalaya Mountains were to stand in place of their usual targets and they were told to shoot, one could still anticipate that, with God's assistance, they

they would always miss the target. And if, by error, they might not miss, then that in itself would be erroneous. On the day of his defeat at Haldaur, the artillerymen of the Nawab must have fired no less than 17 times at a building where the Deputy and I were staying. But they did not scare us a bit, although they had a clear range of fire and ample time to take most careful aim. When we began to fire on them from this house, with our jezail and muskets, they removed the battery from directly opposite the house. I can swear that not one man will die in all this fighting from an artillery ball.

My View of the People's Perception of the Fighting

I also think it is a good idea to write about the popular view of this affair. That is, whether in the battles that did take place, the people of both sides also thought that to fight in this way with such and such a person was to wage war against English sovereignty. I do not doubt for a moment that it must have been clear to all, by reason of his boasting and action, that the Nawab was against the British Government and that his main aim and prayer -- May God hurl this prayer back on him! -- was to bring about the downfall of the Government. The Chaudhris, for their part, could be assessed as neither selfish at heart nor interested in grabbing more power and land.

But the situation of the people of the District was such that to fight along with the Nawab and against the Chaudhris did not also mean for them that they were making war against the English Government nor fighting with the English Government. Uppermost in the minds of all was the contest between the Nawab and the Chaudhris. In this contest, the Government stood quite apart and removed from the middle-space between the two sides. There can also be no doubt that the people who sided with the Chaudhris regarded themselves as the well-wishers and helpers of the Chaudhris. For all concerned, the English Government was a separate matter altogether. The facts related above, along with the burning of the Government offices and the looting of official property, serve to confirm this opinion.

Arrival of a Letter to the Chaudhris From the Collector Sahib

After this fighting, Mr. Alexander Shakespeare wrote a letter to the Chaudhris of Haldaur, to Chaudhri Pratab Singh - Reis of Tajpur, and to Chaudhri Umrao Singh - Reis of Sherkot. The Chaudhris then took council with each other to write their own account of these events to the British authorities. A copy of the Collector's letter of August 7, 1857 from Musoorie follows.

"We have recently heard some news about Bijnor. From all these reports one discovers that it is only in your area that the administration is working as well as can be expected. The Nawab has raised the land revenue so much that all the talukdars are angry. Finis. You well understand that on my leaving the District, its administration was handed over to the Nawab in the expectation that with good will all might go well with him. We have not had news from the

Nawab for some time now. There is no response to the letters sent to him. This letter is being written to you under compulsion of these circumstances and in view of my own ignorance about the true condition of the District. You are to regard the administration of the talukdars of your own area as your individual responsibility from now on and until further orders. Keep the Government installment money with yourself as a deposit. Finis. A letter has also been sent to the Nawab today. One must examine the reasons he will offer to explain why my letters are unanswered. You can be positive that you will be informed if a reply from him is received in a few days. To write more is useless since you are well-informed about the position of those shortsighted ones who have committed themselves to disloyalty. It will certainly be only a few days before the Government intervenes. Be confident, and understand well, as before, the lesson that all people who demonstrate their goodwill in these times will be extremely well-treated."

Our Situation during the Fighting and the Chaudhris Refusal to Let us Cross

The Deputy Collector was in Haldaur during the fighting while the three members of our committee - myself, Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar of Bijnor, Pandit Radha Kishan, Deputy Inspector - were all in Bijnor, each in his own locked house. It is impossible to describe the tension that we felt. It did not even enter our minds that the Nawab was about to be defeated. We were all quite convinced that the Nawab was not going to spare us. Besides, the substantiated "offenses" that he had levelled against us - that of our being supporters and well-wishers of the Government and of our secret correspondence - a deep suspicion had also grown in his mind that we had instigated the Chaudhris to fight, particularly the Chaudhris of Bijnor, a charge about which we were totally innocent and uninformed.

We began to breathe again after the Nawab's defeat. Now that the tyrant was no longer on hand to block our way, we wanted to cross the Ganges to reach Meerut. The ghat [the river banks] was held by the Chaudhris, and sedition held such sway over the roads that we could not even take a step on them without the support and aid of the Chaudhris. Therefore, in all humility for several days we asked the Chaudhris of Bijnor for permission to leave. But they would not permit us to escape. Our miserable fate remained unchanged.

I am not accusing the Chaudhris of wrongdoing in not letting us escape. They may have suspected, unjustifiably, that we would try to build up our names and records for loyalty with the English authorities at their expense. Or they may have thought that we would give a point-blank account about the burning and looting of the Government offices and property. In a few days, they came to realize that it would be impossible to run the District if we left, and the common people would be disheartened too. The prospect of staying on made us very depressed. We were so completely helpless and we always took it for granted as a matter of course that the Nawab would seize and kill us after he retook Bijnor.

Informing the Authorities about the Situation in Bijnor

At this time, when we were thinking about escaping and presenting ourselves in person to the authorities, we three men also sent communications to Mr. Wilson and to the Collector about the fighting and the defeat of the Nawab. We sent a formal account of the destruction of the court buildings, as well. The Chaudhris increased their established correspondence with the authorities about local conditions after the arrival of the letter from the Collector. Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector, a member of our committee, was continually helpful to us in this matter. Because of his superior education, he knew about the natural wisdom and bravery of the English Government and he was constantly alert to dispel, in suitable words, the arguments of those who stressed that English rule would be difficult to maintain because of the disloyalty of the entire Indian Army.

My own personal view and statements, which ever remained in harmony with each other, were that victory and defeat depended neither on the size of armies nor on individual acts of valor. More to the point in determining victory or defeat were wisdom, foresight, tactics, and the theoretical and practical use of weapons. How can a crowd of sheep and other animals confront a lion? After considering these views, the Chaudhris also dispatched their own individual reports to the authorities, in order to review these events in the District and to underscore their obedience. Along with other useful papers, Pandit Radha Kishan discovered the *farman* which had been addressed to Mahmud Khan. Chaudhri Jodh Singh - Reis of Bijnor personally set out for Meerut to deliver this *farman* to Mr. Wilson - special Commissioner and the Judge of Moradabad.

Departure of Sadr Amin, Tahsildar, and Deputy Inspector to Haldaur

Our anxiety about staying on in Bijnor was undiminished. We received reports that Mahmud Khan, Shafi Allah Khan, and Ahmad Allah Khan, in particular, were all busy refitting their equipment and building up their strength in numbers to about 4000 men. They would certainly aim to attack Bijnor. Twice the city became bedlam on the mere rumor that the Nawab was about to attack. Such was the strange state of affairs there in the wake of these rumors that Chaudhri Jodh Singh, who had been looking for money in the well, scampered home in such an upset condition that all gave themselves up for lost. Even Chaudhri Nain Singh lost his composure in this uproar.

For these reasons, we did not view our own chances for survival as amounting to much and we therefore strove to work out a plan to get away, but there appeared to be no recourse for us. We worked out a plan under this compulsion to reach Haldaur by some device or other. Chaudhri Randhir Singh is an intelligent man. Except for our lives being lost, we told him there really was no advantage to anyone in forcing us to stay. 'Take pity,' we begged him, 'and allow us to cross the Ganges.' Chaudhri Nain Singh was also willing to let us go to Haldaur, on our promise to come back. We viewed our escape from Bijnor to be a great blessing. Chaudhri Nain Singh sent some trusted men with us under instructions to bring us back to Bijnor. Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar, Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector, and myself set out for

Haldaur on August 12, 1857. Of course, on reaching there, we refused to return, except for Pandit Radha Kishan, who had to return for his wife and children, who were still in Bijnor. He reached there again on August 13, 1857.

The Chaudhris Gather in Council in Haldaur

When we reach Haldaur we found Chaudhri Partab Singh - Reis of Tajpur present there. Mir Sadiq Ali - Reis of Chandpur had also come. The subject for discussion was district administration. We flatly refused to take part in the administration without clear instructions from Government. Mir Sadiq Ali argued that since each landlord should look after his own area, as was stated in the letter of the Collector of August 7, he had maintained a separate government for the pargana [sub-district] of Chandpur. This council in Haldaur sent further joint communications to Mr. Wilson from the Chaudhris collectively and from myself, Sayyid Turab Ali and the Deputy, who were all present in Haldaur. We also sent Kanhyal Lal Dogri, writer in the office of the Sadr Amin, to Meerut as a courier. On the same day Chaudhri Randhir Singh - landlord of Haldaur, Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur, and Mir Sadiq Ali - landlord of Chandpur all set out for Bijnor on administrative business. Mir Sadiq Ali left for Chandpur on August 14 while the Chaudhris stayed on in Bijnor.

In all these exchanges we found Chaudhri Partab Singh to be outstanding, both for the excellence of his views and for his fear of the English Government, which the others did not exhibit to the same extent. He would constantly interject that 'such and such an idea was feasible; but what,' he would ask, 'would the English do in a similar case?' We reported our intentions to Chaudhri Budh Singh after these meetings - in particular, our plea that he should help us get across the Ganges. On our insistance, he proved agreeable and picked 50 men for the assignment. It was also agreed that Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar would go to Nagina with the aid of Rau Dayal Singh. The latter was about to leave for Nagina that very day to administer the place and bring back the matrix of the artillery piece that Nathe Ram had ordered made for the Nawab. Turab Ali was then to collect his family so that we could all cross together. Sayyid Turab Ali was also instructed to stay in Nagina for a time, in order that he might admonish the Hindus and Muslims there to keep the peace. He left for Nagina on August 14.

Proposal for Government Army to Aid District Administration

When these communications reached the authorities at Meerut, agreement was thereupon reached to send a token force accompanied by some officials to the District. A proposal for this token force was also drawn up. Mr. George Palmer played a very helpful role on this question. The authorities at Meerut also agreed to the proposal and sent a request for the required troops to the Government at Agra, to which they had as yet no reply. They also proposed that Mohammed Rahmat Khan Sahib - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin should carry on the administration on behalf of the Government until the return of the English officers to the District. The following

letters about District administration arrived at Haldaur on August 15, 1857 in the evening: a letter of Mr. Wilson addressed to Mohammed Rahmat Khan - Deputy Collector; a letter from Mr. Wilson - Commissioner of Meerut, addressed to both of us; and a letter from Mr. George Palmer - Joint Magistrate, addressed to both of us. They were all dated August 13, 1857. Although we later burned these letters in Bijnor when disaster overtook us -- to be related further on -- and although when we later reached Meerut we could not find the office copies (as they were written very quickly at a delicate time), I will nonetheless summarize them now from memory in the hope that the result will not be misleading.

Summary of Aforementioned Letters Dated August 13, 1857
Addressed to Muhammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector
And Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, Bijnor

We learned from your letters and from those of the Chaudhris of Bijnor that the injustice and oppression of the Nawab have resulted in a clash in which he was defeated and obliged to flee. Inasmuch as the administration of the District is urgent now, both of you are addressed that as government agents, you are to consider yourselves as the managers of the entire District on behalf of the Government which you are to administer conjointly. All the Chaudhris [the Hindu landlords] explicitly desire that the District administration remain in your hands.

The reply to the reports which the Chaudhris had written was as follows:

Rehmat Khan Sahib Bahadur - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin have been named to administer the District. You people should be their helpers and supporters. The English authorities will soon come with an army.

Mr. John Currie Crawford Wilson wrote a letter to Chaudhri Umrao Singh, landlord of Sherkot, which we obtained for him. We reproduce it here word for word.

Mr. Wilson Sahib's Letter to Chaudhri Umrao Singh

To the Noble and Esteemed Chaudhri Umrao Singh Sahib, May God's Mercy be on you!

We have your letter describing the outrages and tyranny of Nawab Mahmud Khan. It is indeed a matter of great sorrow that you are bearing these great injuries and that Siv Raj Singh and his family have been killed. God does not allow that such tragedies to happen without also providing for relief later. If your Pathans had not committed such tyranny - that is to say, plunder of property and killing of dear ones - would you, the Hindus, have been able to come together as one to throw Mahmud Khan out? Now the united Hindus, standing together, have actually thrown out the tyrant Nawab. If, in former times, you had behaved in this way, would it have been difficult for us to strike at the rebel army that was then in the area? Would it have been necessary for us to depart from there and would the resultant disaster

have come upon you? So be it. All things are dependent on their appointed hour. By God's grace, your troubles will soon be dispelled. We have written to Government in order to go to Bijnor, and we have also called Shakespeare from the mountains. Soon military preparations are to begin so that we can come with a small and reliable force. We have written to Sayyid Ahmad Khan-Sadr Amin and Rahmat Khan - Deputy Collector that they should carry on the administration very well until our coming.

Mr. Palmer Sahib - Joint Magistrate of Bijnor recently inquired about you. He has been in Muzaffarnagar and has now come to Meerut. Tonight he will be at Miranpur for the letter that you wrote to the Ruler of Rampur. We too, wrote an English letter to the Ruler of Rampur and we will also write another English letter to him today, as requested by you. The Postmaster of Meerut has set up a courier service as far as the Ganges. Appoint on your side a trusted courier who may be armed, and keep us informed daily about events there. Please arrange a skiff for the crossing by the courier.

You wrote about the artillery piece which was put near your house by the nephew of that tyrant Nawab. The people of India who have never seen artillery before are afraid of it. But when artillery is in untrained hands it is not the weapon which people need fear. If these Pathans fire on you Hindus, then you ought to carry out this strategem: Men shall separate from each other to all four directions in groups of two and leave a space of 100 feet clear in the middle. Attack the artillerymen at the same time from all directions when they have fired a round. Consider that you have already reached it when there is a space of only 50 feet remaining between you and the artillery piece. Understand well that you will indeed suffer a great deal whenever you stand together like frightened sheep in one place. Otherwise the artillery can do nothing at all. Just a few days ago a European company took 8 large pieces from rebel soldiers at the Hindaun River. You also can set to work in the same way. Written August 14, 1857.

Mr. Wilson's Statement about Sayyid Ahmad Khan

I have hesitated much about relating what follows since I will, in effect, be writing about myself. Still, I have the fortitude to go ahead since, in truth, I am not the writer but am really repeating the views of my master. If I am very happy about what my master has said why may I not speak or write about it? It is the duty of a servant to be pleased at a statement of his master and to reveal his own just pride by relating it.

This is to say that when I reached Meerut and was ill and in much pain, my master, Mr. John Currie Crawford Wilson Sahib Bahadur (May His Fortune Last!) Judge and Special Commissioner increased by honor by himself coming to visit me. He made the following remarks at that time: "You are such a loyal servant that, even in that delicate situation, you did not leave the Government in the lurch. Despite the deep hatred between Hindus and Muslims, and the rising of the Hindus to resist the Muslim Government, when we wanted to turn over responsibility for the District to you and Mohammed Rahmat Khan Sahib - Deputy Collector, we found out that your good character, conduct,

and extreme dedication to the Government's cause had been such that all the Hindus, who were big and well-known landlords, agreed with perfect joy and deep desire to accept you Muslims as their rulers in the District. They even specifically requested that you be picked as rulers over all the Hindus of the District.

Knowing you as its loyal and well-disposed servants, the Government too, in this delicate situation, turned over the District to you with complete confidence. You remained throughout faithful and loyal servants of the Government. Even if, by way of compensation, we should make a picture of you as a remembrance for generations to come, so as to promote the honor and pride of your descendants, it would be insufficient." I am extremely grateful to my master for the favor which he has shown me and for his just appreciation of my merit. May God preserve him. Amen.

Record for Information on Starting District Administration
Record Cutcherry of District Bijnor, at a Meeting of
Muhammad Rehmat Khan Sahib Bahadur - Deputy Magistrate
and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, Administrators
of District Bijnor, August 16, 1857

Orders addressed to you from the Commissioner - District Meerut, and the Judge - District Moradabad, and Joint Magistrate - District Bijnor dated August 13, 1857 were received on August 15, 1857 at evening to the effect that the Deputy Collector and Sadr Amin should jointly carry on the administration of District Bijnor until the return of the English District officers. We were on duty in Bijnor immediately on receipt of these orders while Chaudhri Randhir Singh and Chaudhri Bodh Singh - both landlords of Haldaur and Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur are also present in Bijnor. With the help of the aforementioned landlord and the landlords of Bijnor we have become busy with District administration and have circulated, in appropriate fashion, orders and announcements in diverse places. Plans have been made to scatter those who have come together in different places to disturb the peace. Accordingly

It is Ordered

That a copy of this record should be sent to the Commissioner Meerut. Sahib Judge Bahadur - District Moradabad and Joint Magistrate - District Bijnor.

Return of Some Looted Property

We issued a later announcement in Bijnor, by beat of drum, that persons should return looted Government property or the effects of the English that they had taken during the recent disturbance. They could do this in secret at any place; if the property were not returned or were wasted and destroyed, they could be declared criminals. A miscellany of office records and of books belonging to the Collector, some dispensary supplies, stamps, and many survey maps came to hand in the wake of this announcement. Registry documents

and law books also came in. These were all placed in the tahsil Court building. Hari Singh, inspector of allotments, sent in some bound survey maps that he was able to collect after much effort; and Chaudhri Nain Singh - landlord of Bijnor sent in whatever books he could find. We had hoped for more things to come in like this, but unfortunately our advance estimates were not borne out.

Views of Sayyid Ahmad Khan About The Working of the Proclamation

When the District came into our charge, I thought that the wording of the proclamation should be altered. That is to say, the words *Khalq Khuda key, Mulk Padshah ka, Hukam Company Sahib Bahadur ka* (The People is of God; The Country belongs to the King; and Authority Belongs to the Company Bahadur) should be changed so that instead of the phrase "The Country is the King's", it should be shouted that "The Country Belongs to Her Majesty Queen Victoria sovereign of London" (*Mulk Malaka Mu'azmah Victoria Shah London ka*). I thought that words should be used in the proclamation that permitted the common people to grasp without any uncertainty whose country it was, who was their sovereign, and whose subjects they were. But I did not think it proper to alter such an old procedure without orders from my superiors. I kept my own special views on this subject in abeyance until another occasion.

Mr. George Palmer Sahib Bahadur was thoroughly attentive to the situation in the District. He settled in Miranpur so that he might know daily what was happening. This was a great encouragement and comfort to us. In addition to the record mentioned above, we also sent him a report on the District, which is reproduced at this point.

Transcript of Report on District Situation Dated August 16, 1857

Copy of Report of Muhammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, Managers of District Bijnor, addressed to Mr. George Palmer - Joint Magistrate, August 16, 1857.

The situation in the District is as follows: Peace prevails everywhere except in the paragana of Nijibabad. More people have banded together to disturb the peace in the towns of Nihtaur, Seohara, Mernon, and Nagina. Plans have been completed to disperse them. They are most probably scattered by now or soon will be. Present in Bijnor in suitable strength are Chaudhri Paudhir Singh and Chaudhri Budh Singh - landlords of Haldaur and Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur. Together with the Reis of Bijnor, they are helping the District administration in every way.

From Najibabad the news is as follows: It is heard that Mahmud Khan now has an army of 5,000 men and a newly-made brass artillery piece. He is having a piece made at Najibabad. They are looting and burning all the villages near Najibabad. In our opinion, their numbers will increase as long as the Government army is kept from coming to Bijnor. They will disperse at once if the Government army comes quite soon.

The situation of the mail service is as follows: The Commissioner of Meerut and the Judge of Moradabad have ordered that the mails should continue as before, that is to say, from Raoli to Muzaffarnagar. We are trying to implement this decision in connection with your request for daily reports to be delivered at Joli or Miranpur. It will be necessary that we try to send news from here by a horseman, since Your Excellency's purpose will not be served through the Muzaffarnagar mail service. We will maintain the Muzaffarnagar mail service as before and also send Your Excellency, by a special horseman or mail-runners, reports each day on the situation in the District.

Transcript of Second Report on the District
Dated August 17, 1857

The situation in the District is normal now. There is nothing really new to report, but still some points are worth submitting. After studying them, Your Excellency may acquaint himself with the detailed replies. First, despite all that has happened, Mahmud Khan is busy with his plans to mobilize men and serviceable artillery. To the extent Your Excellency is delayed in coming, Mahmud Khan will continue to repair his war material.

Second, the landlords of the District do not keep hired soldiers, but all the landlords and their brotherhoods come together at the time [they are called]. It is impossible for these people to remain together a long time in these circumstance. Over and above this, if they do stay together, soon the expenses for daily food, become so heavy that there is not a single landlord who can endure them. Agriculture is completely ruined and at a standstill. The damage will, in the end, fall only on the Government and lead to destruction of the landlords. The early coming of the authorities and of the Government army is necessary in these circumstances.

Third: the management of the District was entrusted to us as employees until the return of the officials. With the help of the landlord we are busy with this task. It is clear that the administration of the District will become impossible should their assembly of men disperse. For we have no force of our own, such as an army or bank of men, etc., through which the District might be administered. The peons and orderlies at the thana are absent for the most part. For this reason, we cannot carry on the administration of the District with only those people at such a time.

Fourth: If the District were free of the fear of an attack by Nawab Mahmud Khan, several administrative difficulties would not exist at all. In these circumstances, the Government army should come as quickly as possible; otherwise the administration cannot endure. Nawab Mahmud Khan still has with him the large amount of money and equipment that he took from the Government. He need not have second thoughts or anxieties about maintaining the army.

Fifth: By your writing that you are staying in Miranpur for the sole purpose of getting news of the District on a daily basis, we can assume that your coming to the District is to be postponed for a while. We consider this delay as tantamount to the destruction of the District and collapse of

the administration. We are hopeful that you may write to assign the date you are coming, so that arrangements can therefore be prepared to take care of the men brought together at that time.

Mr. George Palmer, in his own sincere way, was more than matching our insistence that the army should come to Bijnor. However, no answer to the report they had despatched had yet come from Government. For this reason, the aforementioned officer could not fix a date for sending the army or for his own arrival. He satisfied us and the landlords in every respect. He kept busy with wise plans to encourage the public to believe that the Government army would soon be on its way to Bijnor.

New Mail Service Established from Bijnor to Miranpur

We worked hard to organize and get the post going. We wrote to Muzaffarnagar about arranging the mail-runners to the ghat of Raoli. We set up a new post from Bijnor to Meerut by way of Miranpur. We put in charge of our own post office Babu Kank Lal - Deputy Postmaster, who had been discharged through the tyranny of the Nawab. Two mail-runners were arranged at Bijnor and two at the ghat of Daranagar. Mail-runners from Daranagar went as far as Dhampura, whence Mr. George Palmer arranged postal relays. This arrangement worked well and the regular dispatch of mail proceeded. On August 17, 1857 we informed the aforementioned officer that the post had been established and was functioning.

Pandit Radha Kishan Goes to Mr. George Palmer in Miranpur

Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector proposed that he should go alone to Miranpur in order to give Mr. George Palmer an oral report on the entire situation in the District and, if possible, to arrange a meeting between the aforementioned officer and the Chaudhris [Hindu landlords] so that they might report to him on the local situation. The aforementioned officer would be thoroughly informed on the situation in the District, while both the Chaudhris and all other people would feel more at ease. Accordingly, on the 17th Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector, accompanied by one of his own men and a horse-soldier of Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur, left to pay his respects to the aforementioned officer in Miranpur, where he gave an oral review of the situation in the entire District. It was agreed that the Chaudhris would come to pay their respects at Dhampura on the banks of the Ganges.

The Chaudhris were called. Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur, Chaudhri Randhir Singh - landlord of Haldaur, and Chaudhri Nain Singh - landlord of Bijnor went to Dhampura. Chaudhri Jodh Singh, who had crossed previously, was also present to pay his respects to the aforementioned officer on August 18, 1857. The aforementioned officer comforted everybody. The sensational false report that the Nawab had attacked Bijnor reached Dhampura at this time. The Chaudhris paled on hearing this rumor, and they began to make gestures which revealed extreme agitation and loss of composure. Chaudhri Randhir Singh, as usual, remained firm. He advised the aforementioned officer well and prudently

by noting that such and such an action might be taken if the news were authentic, but that, in truth, the news was unfounded. The aforementioned officer dismissed everyone after this discussion; and all these people, together with Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector, returned to Bijnor on the same day.

Setting Afire the Country About Najibabad

Ahmad Allah Khan and Shafi Allah Khan continued with their evil ways. They continued to harrass the Hindus and to loot and set fire to villages in the environs of Najibabad. Shafi Allah Khan, for example, burned down the village of Moosapur. Mareh and Abadullah Khan (whom the Nawab had appointed Tahsildar of Nagina after dismissing Naulvi Qadir Ali Tahsildar) looted and set afire Hasanpura, Mohanpura, Shafiabad, Kardili, Narayanpur, and Patijatan -- all villages inhabited by Jats.

Mir Jivan Ali - landlord of Memon was also present in Najibabad and was understood to be a participant in these matters. Therefore, on August 19, 1857 I wrote to His Excellency Mr. George Palmer to request that he should write to Jivan Ali to withdraw. I also asked that he write to Rae Himmat Singh - landlord of Sahanpur, since his area was adjacent to Najibabad and he might help stop these disorders. I asked for a letter to be written to Mufti Muhammad Ishaq - landlord of Kiatpur, so that he should not permit any fresh violence in his area. I reproduce herewith word-for-word the aforementioned officer's answer and letters to the landlords.

Copy of Letter written by Mr. George Palmer - Joint Magistrate, District Bijnor

Dear Muhammad Rehmat Khan Sahib and Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan Sahib - Sadr Amin. Greetings. Your letter of today's date has come. You should continue to write daily on the situation there as I will send your letters regularly to the Commissioner of Meerut, and also to the Collector, for by today's news I learned that he has reached Meerut to set up residence there. At your request two letters marked Rae Himmat Singh - landlord of Sahanpur and Mir Jivan Ali - landlord of Memon are being sent through you. Please deliver them as soon as possible. We learn, too, that a letter had already been dispatched to Mufti Mohammad Ishaq - landlord of Kiratpur before the arrival of your letter. It is to be hoped that a clash of arms will not disturb the haven of Bijnor. In any event it is necessary that anarchy should not prevail in Bijnor. You must have made plans, I am sure, with a view to the coming first ten days of Muharram.

Be confident that the Collector and I, together with assistance, intend to come to the District soon. With this in view, the Commissioner of Meerut is constantly busy bringing together a sizeable army for the management of the District; but as is quite apparent to you, our coming would be unsuitable without such a fully equipped army. It is best that, for a little time more, you carry on the administration with the cooperation and favor of the landlords.

The mail relays by runners from Bijnor to Meerut have been well organized. Please work out a plan to move ordinary letters. With respect to what is new here, it may be divulged at the time when it can also be viewed as a settled matter. What has been learned about your dedication to the Government and struggling in its cause will clearly not be forgotten. Please greet all the landlords in our name. It is now too late at night to write to them separately. Our meeting with them has eased our minds a great deal. May you always keep us informed about the situation there. Written August 19, 1857 AD.

Mr. George Palmer's Letter to Rae Himmat Singh -
Landlord of Sahananpur

Dear Rae Sahib!

Greetings. Charge of the Government Treasury and District administration was given to Mahmud Khan from the day when the Collector left Bijnor. It was known after an interval of several days that trouble developed between the Nawab Sahib and the Chaudhris until there was open conflict, whereupon the Nawab Sahib left Bijnor for Najibabad. In these circumstances, may it be clear to you that the Commissioner of Meerut has ordered Mohammed Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin to take over the administration, with the help of the Chaudhris of the District, until the administrators of the District may return. It is necessary that they be helped in every way and that their orders should be accepted as the orders of the Government. We learn, moreover, from several people that the Nawab Mahmud Khan intends to attack Bijnor. You are requested to take steps so that this confrontation may not be allowed to happen, for otherwise anarchy and destruction of the riots will again prevail. Always keep us informed of your situation. Written August 19, 1857 AD.

Letter of Mr. George Palmer to
Mir Jivan Ali - Reis to Memon

Mir Sahib. Dear Friend. Greetings. An armed conflict has taken place after a dispute between Nawab Mahmud Khan and the Chaudhris and Talukdars of the Hindu people. The Government is deeply saddened by this bloodshed in the District. It may be known to you that a few days ago the Commissioner of Meerut appointed Muhammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin to take over the District administration pending the return of the administrators of the District. Be informed of this measure. May the decision be unmistakable to you that the administrators of the District intent to return very quickly with a Government army to organize this dependency.[1] It is therefore incumbent on you to keep your own estate[2] in good order so that there may not be any incidents of violence. You are the Reis and the Government will hold you responsible at the hour of inquiry. Written August 19, 1857.

We sent these letters to the aforementioned landlords and reported as much to His Excellency George Palmer - Joint Magistrate at Miranpur on August 22, 1857. With a view to the coming first ten-day period of Muharram,[2] we circulated the customary notices that used to be broadcast in this period during the time of the Supreme Government; and we also took all precautions to assure that violence might not occur.

Letter of Mahmud Khan to Mr. George Palmer

When Nawab Mahmud Khan learned that Mr. George Palmer - Joint Magistrate was resident at Miranpur and in regular correspondence with the Chaudhris, he himself wrote on August 14, 1857, to complain about the excesses of the Chaudhris and their resistance against him. He complained that the Chaudhris had thrown him out after a struggle and spread anarchy in the District. After studying this letter, the aforementioned officer wrote his reply on August 21, 1857. The text is written at this point.

Letter of Mr. George Palmer
to Mahmud Khan in Answer to his letter

Dear Nawab Sahib. Affectionate Greetings to Mahommed Mahmud Khan Sahib. Your letter of August 14 reached me today. Its contents are understood. The original of the letter was sent to the Collector and the Commissioner at Meerut. Before its arrival the Government had learned that a struggle took place between your men and the Talukdars and the Chaudhris at Sherkot and Bijnor. This violence and bloodshed is a matter of great sorrow to Government. For the sake of the District administration, the Commissioner has ordered Muhammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin to take over the District administration. [May it be clear to you] that the administrators of the District are returning very soon with a fully-equipped army to investigate both sides of the matter. It is necessary that you keep your servants from taking part in any kind of fighting. You are again being informed that a letter sent to you by the Commissioner through the Tahsildar of Muzaffarnagar was twice returned by the post. Now it is being sent to you. Salaam. August 19, 1857.

The Commissioner's letter mentioned in this letter was dated August 15, 1857. In this letter the Commissioner gave Nawab Mahmud Khan, in writing, noble advice and required him to desist from excesses such as bloodshed, violence, oppression, and his demand for uncollected revenue. He also reminded him of the fate of Nana Rao Dhandu Pant Maratha for disobedience and non-performance of duty. This letter made him clearly understand that those who obediently executed their duty would benefit in the end, but those who acted contrarily would be disgraced, impoverished, and made liable for punishment.

Advice on Attacking Najibabad

Despite all these plans, Mahmud Khan remained dissatisfied. The Chaudhris, for their part, were irrosolute about whether or not to attack Najibabad. Our colleague Pandit Radha Kishan - Deputy Inspector wrote to Mr. George Palmer about their predicament. The two letters which came by way of reply are reproduced in their original form.

Miranpur
August 19, 1857

My Dear Radha Kishen,

I send by this post two letters to the Chaudhris from the Commissioner. Explain to them that the difficulty regarding the troops arises from certain orders issued by the General Command at Delhi, irrespective of Bijnor, and that it is strongly hoped by the Cimmissioner, as well as myself, that they will be so far overlooked by Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, as to enable us to re-occupy Bijnor shortly. I enclose for you a note from Mr. Wilson that I received last night; it may assure them at all events that neither he, the Commissioner, of myself, are sparing any pains to come to their aid. I have written to the Reis of Kiratpur telling him to take care and not aid disturbers of the peace.

With regard to Najibabad, which you said they did not like to attack without orders from Government, they should use discretion. Of course, now the Government looks to their aid for the preservation of order in the District; and until a force is sent to do so, they are perfectly free to attack that place or to do any thing that they may think really necessary to maintain order. But if possible, it would be better to wait a day or so, till they have more certainty regarding our return. Also I should think that it would be in itself a very hazardous undertaking.

Yours truly,

GEORGE PALMER Junior

P.S. They should be prepared for Muharram tomorrow.

Miranpur
19th August, 1857

My Dear Radha Kishen,

I have received a letter from the Nawab at Najibabad and replied to it. Tell the Talukdars to on no account let their people stop mine by the way. The purpore of my letter was to warn him against fighting with them, or anywhere else. Tell them, therefore, that if he is disposed to keep to his own place at Najibabad and leave them alone, then they had better do the same by him. I sincerely trust there will be no more fighting till we come. Mr. Shakespear has arrived in Meerut, a Regiment of Sikhs is to be in Muzaffarnagar today; I

hope we shall get the number we want from them, but this depends on the military authorities. I sent letters to you and to the Reis and to Mahammad Rehmat Khan and the Sadr Amin by trooper this morning. I send you an extract from a letter from Mr. Muir[3] at Agra, with recent news. Translate it to them. I send bits of news from last papers.

Truly yours,

GEORGE PALMER Junior

P.S. Your letter has arrived; come to me tomorrow. The Reis had better wait a day or so before going to Najibabad, unless the Nawab comes out to fight them. They will probably get orders on the subject from the Commissioner the day after tomorrow.

The Situation in Nagina After the Departure of Ram Dayal Singh

It is proper at this time for us to say something about the situation at Nagina. Before Ram Dayal Singh left Haldaur, the black guards of Nagina looted village Nanadpur. Ram Dayal Singh therefore stayed in village Phulsanda while Mir Turab Ali went to Nagina. On the next day Ram Dayal Singh came to Kala Khetri, which is two miles south of Nagina. There he opened talks for a compromise with the people of Nagina. His coming to Nagina was most unwelcome to Nathu Khan and Mandhu Khan, servants of the Nawab. For this reason Ram Dayal Singh moved to village Puraini, which is three miles east of Nagina. Ram Dayal Singh had the bugle sounded to bring men together. The group of Rais in Nagina - that is to say, Maulvi Mohammad Ali and Sheikh Najaf Ali; Mir Ashraf Ali, son of Amir Ali; Kunwar Kishan Singh and Padhan Nila Pat; etc. - were on the side of peace in accordance with the wishes of Sayyid Turab Ali, but the servants of the Nawab and the officers of his army who were also present were determined on a struggle.

Mandhu Khan and Ashraf Ali went to Najibabad from Nagina. They wanted Abdullah Khan to become tahsildar at Nagina again. He had been tahsildar before he had run away with Ahmad Allah Khan. When Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar saw that violence was increasing and that the aggressive element were no longer under control of their Rais, he left that place together with Mir Latafat Ali Thanadar and the members of both their families. Several Muslims of Nagina and Pran Sukh Bishnoi[4] also went with him. At village Puraini they met a band of villagers who wanted to rob them. Jai Raj Singh, the *numberdar* [a farmer revenue-collector] of the place, protected them. He had to take them back to Nagina personally, by way of Bijnor, because it was impossible to save them from being robbed by the excited villagers.

Advice of the Rais About Attacking Najibabad

When Sayyid Turab Ali reached Nagina, Mandhu Khan and Ashraf Ali, son of Ali Bakhsh, had already come from Najibabad with some 400-500 men and two jezails. Sayyid Turab Ali Tehsildar advised the Rais of Nagina to send these

people back to Najibabad if at all possible. They all agreed, both Hindu and Muslim. After much effort and many strategems they managed to send them back.

We got word of this development in Bijnor, where the Rais were debating the question of whether or not to attack Najibabad. Chaudhri Partab Singh - Rais (landlord) of Tajpur was opposed to more violence. He argued that one could not predict the outcome. We should try, he said, to keep the peace in the District for a little while longer at all costs. In his opinion, it had been improper for men to go to Nagina and lay the foundation there for further violence. On the other hand, the views of Chaudhri Budh Singh Sahib - Rais [landlord] of Haldaur, as a natural consequence of his manliness and valor, favored an attack on Najibabad by the combined group.

They were encouraged by their previous successes against the Nawab. We had never felt that these people called up from here and there could be victorious in Najibabad or that these villagers could take the alleys of the city and the solidly-built residence of the Nawab. Our opinion proved to be extremely sound and irrefutable. We thought, moreover, that it was most unwise for so much violence to be stirred up over only one gun on its matrix in Nagina, whose manufacture, firing and these causing someone's death because of its shell would be a most fanciful, fantastic and not about to take place event. I fully realized that the District administration would be, in the end, damaged if violence in Nagina should increase. Our advice was correct for this is what happened in the end.

We very much wanted the fighting to cease at Nagina and remain suspended for a few days, to the extent possible. We took it as a certainty that the appearance in Bijnor of even a token Government army would be all that was needed to restore the administration and that, in the process, there would doubtless not even be need for an actual battle to be fought anywhere. The return of the English officers would serve to erase forever the basic cause of violence, namely: those fears that if the Muslims were to prevail, the Hindus would be killed and looted; or those contrary fears that if the Hindus were to prevail, then it would be the Muslims who would be killed and wiped out. Meanwhile, we learned, that violence at Nagina had ceased. We were very happy to send this report to Mr. George Palmer (May his good fortune last!), and to give him our views about an attack on Najibabad, and to request his guidance.

Report on the situation in Nagina

Transcript of Report by Muhammad Rehmat Khan-Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, dated August 20, 1857

The situation here is that recent news sent you about a fight at Baseegorwan and the advance of Shafi Allah Khan on Kiratpur appears, on investigation, to have been false. It is only accurate to this extent: that is, that Ahmad Allah Khan has sent some of his men to Kiratpur to gather rations; neither his tent nor advance baggage have appeared there yet. The violence at Nagina has been disposed of. All the Rais at Nagina, both Hindu and Muslim, stood together. They decided that some 600-700 men who had come

from Najibabad on account of the violence, plus some of their own rogues, should all leave and not be allowed to commit violence in Nagina; it is heard that these people have gone to Najibabad. Until now, however, we do not have a letter from Mir Turab Ali; it appears certain that either his letter will come or that he himself will return today. All the Chaudhris have been advised against disbanding their men for any reason. They are fully cooperating in this matter although it is reported for a fact that Nawab Mahmud Khan and his allies have set alight some zamindari villages belonging to the Chaudhris of Haldaur and to Rae Himmat Singh Rais - landlord of Sahanpur.

Notwithstanding all this, we do not consider it wise that the Chaudhris attack Najibabad, because of the related evils that we anticipate. We also consider improper the decision that everyone should encamp at Kiratpur. Our counsel is that the Rais [landlords] should stay at Sawaheri so that all the roads out of Najibabad may be blocked, thus postponing for a few days the contemplated attack on Najibabad. We are absolutely certain that everybody will at once become submissive out of fear on the mere appearance of a small Government army. Our hope is that the tension will somehow not reach the level of actual struggle. If our view holds good and a Government army comes soon, then the lives of hundreds will be spared from slaughter and the Government's subjects will remain at peace. In the future, you may write your views and advice on this subject so that your wishes can be carried out. As a measure of expediency we have not collected revenues yet because most of the taxpaying zamindars of the Chaudhris' party are present in the army. When you return to the District and the zamindars are again residing in their villages, collection of revenues due Government will begin at once.

A representation was submitted yesterday to you about writing letters. I am sure that they must have been written. It is most urgent that an order be sent from you on this very subject to Ahmad Allah Khan, who was Tahsildar in Najibabad in your time. They may be sent since reports have been received that Ahmad Allah Khan is not allowing his army to disband. Your order to him at such a time will be very helpful in disposing of the mischief. In light of Muharram, we have made arrangements to avoid any possibility of a dispute between Hindus and Muslims. Through God's intervention, our arrangements may certainly be effective and peace in the District preserved.

Reply of Mr. Palmer

Transcript of Mr. George Palmer to Muhammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin. Greetings. Your letter of today's date and its contents are understood. In accordance with your wish, an order in strong words is made therein, that he will be considered culpable is he keeps and supports the intentions which the Nawab may have to oppose the Chaudhris. Please send this letter to Ahmad Allah Khan quickly.

What you requested was sent yesterday, so you must have them by now. In our opinion, your advice is very much to the point about the Chaudhris' staying at Sawaheri and blocking the roads of Nagina, Najibabad, and Mandawar. To speak truthfully, however, we do not know where Sawaheri is and we don't have

any maps with us now. Therefore, we cannot give clear guidance on this point, if the aforementioned Sawaheri be not far from Bijnor, and if it is such a place that the roads can be well protected, then it is a very good place for the Chaudhris to stay. It is necessary to think about preventing harm coming from the direction of Nagina. On account of seasonal rains and rising of the rivers, it is certain that the road to Afzalgarh is completely closed. It is also certain that communications on the roads of Moradabad are under supervision. This plan is being thought out with great caution. But as the Commissioner and Mr. Wilson dispatch their letters to Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan - Wali of Rampur, while letters are being written by me to Nawab Mahmud Khan, and orders are just now being sent to Ahmad Allah Khan, it is certain that the District will not witness any armed conflict. We have nothing from Lahore. An English newspaper of Lahore has been sent to you. You will know its contents through Pandit Radha Kishan. Finis. August 20, 1857.

We have previously inserted the letters to the Reis mentioned in this letter: that is to say, a letter each to Mir Jeevan Ali - Reis of Memon and to Rae Himmat Singh - Reis of Saharanpur.

Order from Mr. George Palmer to Ahmad Allah Khan

Dear and Worthy Mohammed Ahmad Allah Khan. May you be well. The Government became very angry when it was known that there had been fighting at Sherkot and Bijnor between the servants of the Nawab and the Chaudhris of the Hindu people. You know what the Commissioner has ordered Mohammad Rehmat Khan - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin to do with respect to District administration at present. Keep this in mind. According to the accounts of some people, it is becoming well-known that the Nawab again intends to attack the Chaudhris and that he is bringing his army together at Najibabad for this purpose. I certainly hope that this news is, in fact, wrong. But he completely sure in your mind that such a clash is most improper and will be viewed by Government as extremely unpleasant; should it be established that the Nawab got administrative and personal support from you, the Government would then regard you as a malefactor. Keep this order firmly in mind, for it is certain that an English army will soon come to take charge of the District and then a thorough investigation will be undertaken of all circumstances. Dated August 20, 1857.

Ahmad Allah Khan Again Collects Revenue And a Letter of Mahmud Khan

We sent this order at once to Ahmad Allah Khan and reported the same to His Excellency George Palmer on August 21, 1857.

After the arrival at its destination of the letter of Mr. George Palmer to Mahmud Khan and of the above order, these people showed ostensible signs that they wanted to be obedient. Ahmad Allah Khan began to perform his revenue duties at Najibabad and to send us his reports stamped with his signature seal. We accepted them as a matter of expediency. Mahmud Khan also sent in a letter of obedience to the Government. We sent this letter and our reply to His Excellency George Palmer. Transcripts are reproduced at this point together with the letters of approval from Mr. George Palmer and Mr. Alexander Shakespeare.

Copy of Letter of Mahmud Khan

Dear Mohammed Rehmat Khan Sahib - Deputy and Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, District Bijnor. Greetings. Please take note that your letter dated on the envelope August 21, together with copies of the letters from the Commissioner - District Meerut and Joint Magistrate - District Bijnor, which the aforesaid person had addressed in your name was received on August 22 at 11 o'clock. After carefully studying their contents, I think they can be useful to you in admonishing the Chaudhris to stay in their individual places and to avoid coming together in large numbers and breaking the peace. As per the orders in this letter, we do not intend to make any kind of disturbance with anybody. The proclamation bills already sent relate to the same matter - to avoid violence. Those people, the Hindus and Muslims, who have come together at Puraini, Hargampur, Sawaheri, Nangal, and Bijnor itself ought all to be told that they should go to their own individual places, that they will be declared culpable if they break the peace and that, since you are now administrator of the District by order of the illustrious English administrator, those who break the peace will have their liability entrusted to the pity of the English for judgement. In this situation you ought to pay attention to and act upon the specific means to prevent violence. Same arrangement for the ghats is also necessary as rebellious people frequently come to our side from these crossings. We are obedient to those letters. All others are well. Muhammed Rahmud Khan (Seal)

Answer to Letter of Mahmud Khan
by the Deputy and Sadr Amin

Greetings, Nawab Sahib. We beg to acknowledge receipt today, August 22 at 11 o'clock of your letter postmarked August 21 and the copies of letters sent you by the Commissioner - District Meerut and the Joint Magistrate - District Bijnor. You write that we should admonish the Chaudhris that they should each stay in their own places and not band together and disturb the peace; that you do not want to fight with anyone; and, finally, that those people who are in camp at Puraini, Harganpur, Sawaheri, Nangal, and Bijnor City should return to their own places. We explained your instructions in accordance with the contents of the letters to the Chaudhris.

These people also have a point of view to present. They say that "we don't want to disturb the peace by clashing with the Nawab Sahib or with anyone." These people state further that they did return to their individual homes after the events at Sherkot and Bijnor; that they had disbanded the groups of men that had been brought together; that Chaudhri Partab Singh also returned to his own place, as did the Chaudhris of Haldaur, and that the Chaudhris of Bijnor resided at their place without any grouping of men, but that they later continously received reports that you aimed to invade Bijnor, Tajpur, and Haldaur; that you were assembling an army and making ready your artillery; that you had set afire and looted the villages around Najibabad - villages Moosapur, Shafiabad, Mohanpur, Narayanpur, Kardili, etc.

For these reasons, these people came to the conclusion that if they did not band together, the upshot could only be bad for themselves. They explain that they have come together in different places to protect themselves and to stop any attack by the Nawab Sahib on Bijnor, Haldaur, and Tajpur. They explain the bringing together of men at Puraini as their response to the havoc visited on Nagina by Nathe Khan and Mendhu Khan, who are your servants. They say that you have had a large artillery piece made ready to be taken to Najibabad and that you bar access to the police station, the post, and the tahsil; that you prevent compliance with the orders of Government; and that the Chaudhris are informed that there are about seven to eight thousand men assembled near you. These people therefore explain that "it is impossible for us to have any confidence about the future as long as the Nawab Sahib does not disband his men".

These people also tell us that they sent a letter to Sa'ad Allah Khan in Najibabad, after the fighting, that he should try to bring about a settlement with you to avoid future aggression; that they also sent two letters to Mufti Muhammad Ishaq - Reis of Kiratpur, that a settlement was possible only if their fear of an attack by the Nawab could be dispelled; and that they asked the Mufti in a third letter to go to Najibabad as their representative in order to bring about a settlement on all issues. In sum, the account of the Chaudhris amounts to this: that they do not want to create a disturbance or to fight with anyone; and that if the Nawab Sahib disbands his men, ceases to order new guns, and abandons his intention to fight, then they will certainly return to their separate homes.

As we, for our part, are also dedicated with all our energies to keeping the peace, we petition you as your well-wisher that you also should cease to group your men and artillery, and that you should keep firmly in check such scoundrels as Mareh and Mendhu Khan. The bulk of the Chaudhris will then most likely separate from each other and return to their homes, and the administration of the District will be able to function properly, and the people of God and the subjects of the Government will remain in peace. If any person does make trouble, a detailed report will be sent to His Excellency the Commissioner, and the upshot will be bad for that troublemaker.

You should be thoroughly aware that orders are continuously reaching us from field headquarters; furthermore, the Joint Magistrate is himself now residing near the Ganges at Miranpur, in expectation of the coming of the Government army; that the Collector has come down to Meerut from Musoorie in the mountains; and that the Commander-in-Chief and the provincial Governor have already issued orders to dispatch the army to Bijnor. An army with artillery is reaching Miranpur very soon. The Collector, the Joint Magistrate, the Commissioner, and Mr. Wilson will then come to Bijnor. Our deepest desire is that all may stay at ease in their own homes until the field headquarters come. After their coming, the officers who have been mentioned will regulate the District in the manner they deem best. Salaam.

Mr. George Palmer's letter
Approving the Answer to Mahmud Khan

Dear Khan Sahibs Bahadur. Muhammad Rehmat Khan Sahib - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan Sahib - Sadr Amin, District Bijnor, Greetings. We received your letter of today's date together with the letter of Nawab Sahib and a copy of your reply. I think your letter is proper from every point of view. According to your wishes, I have sent the aforementioned letters to the Commissioner of Meerut. You are discreetly informed that the Commissioner's letter that Nawab Sahib mentioned was written two weeks ago, that is, before knowledge of the Sherkot affair. It came back twice because of the stoppage of the post. It was sent to Nawab Sahib, together with your letter, a third time. We hope that another confrontation between the Nawab Sahib and the Chaudhris will be avoided. It is clear that you are busy and active with this objective in mind. Thanks to your vigilance, it is evident that a compromise is possible for the Nagina trouble and that violence may be checked. As requested, orders have been written to the Chaudhris with this object in view. After reviewing their contents, please dispatch them if they appear proper to you. May you keep us informed of events there. Written August 22, 1857 at night.

Order of Mr. George Palmer to Several
Rais of Nagina.
Copy of Letter by Mr. George Palmer
to Karim Baksh, Shafi Najaf Ali,
Muhammad Ali, Rais of Nagina, and
Sayyid Imtiaz Ali, Sayyid Shuja Ali,
and Sayyid Nabi Ali Nihtaur

Since it is learned there is anxiety that a Hindu-Muslim clash is about to occur in your city, and the Government desires that such violence should not occur on any account, you must take all possible steps to assure that a disturbance does not happen. If you strive earnestly, then it will go well with you. In the event of disturbances, you will be considered criminals by the Government. Be it known to you that Sahib Collector Bahadur and myself intend to come very soon with a powerful army to administer the District. Be reminded. Dated April 22, 1857 AD.

Letter of Approval from Mr. Alexander
Shakespeare for the Reply to Mahmud Khan

Khan Sahib, Dear Muhammed Rahmat Khan Sahib - Deputy Collector and Sayyid Ahmad Khan Sahib - Sadr Amin, District Bijnor. Greetings.

We understand the situation through the mail received today which includes your letter, the letter of Mahmud Khan, and a copy of the answer to the aforesaid which you sent. Your answer is very proper. This letter is being written to you now so that you may again admonish Nawab Sahib to obey the

letter written August 21 concerning our order that he and his relatives Shafi Allah Khan and Ahmad Allah should remain in Najibabad, and that they should not interfere on any pretext in District matters, and that they should cease all unjust violence and disturbance. If he will not do this and is again guilty of impropriety, it will not go well with him. He will be included - the mass of rebels as an emeny of the sovereign Government. Finis.

Concerning what you wrote about our coming quickly to Bijnor: the Government army is coming quickly, after having devastated and disciplined the rebels and intimidated the mischief-makers. With God's help, I will also come soon. Whatever the circumstances, you ought to be confident, since the mischief-makers who know what is wrong will soon have their ears property twisted. Finis.

A letter has come from Chaudhri Nain Singh and Jodh Singh - Rais of Bijnor about the issuance of an order for current wages for employees in the administration. In my view, the request is proper. Some money may be taken from the mahajans [money-lenders] of the District and then distributed as wages to the employees. Money may also be spent on your order for administrative ends. You may give a receipt, duly signed, to those from whom money is taken so that on our arrival this money will be returned; you ought to be attentive to this. Through mutually conselling with each, and so far as may be possible, let not these small matters of administration and good will be overlooked. Keep us informed about your situation. Others are well. Dated August 18, 1857 at Meerut.

Violence at Nagina Again

At this very time, Mr. John Currie Crawford Wilson ordered Chaudhri Partab Singh - Rais of Tajpur, in keeping with his role as a Rais, to arrange to send Rs. 10,000 to Nainital,[5] since it was clear at the moment that there was no violence afoot and that the disorder at Nagina had been dispelled. In order to send this money, Chaudhri Partab Singh - Reis of Tajpur set out for Tajpur on August 21, 1857; but he left behind in Bijnor his regular army of men and a jizail.

It is sad, but fresh violence broke out in Nagina again. The whole incident happened after Mendhu Khan left Najibabad and came to Nagina with sepoys. Ram Dayal Singh replied to this move by mobilizing even more men at Puraini. The Rais of Nagina told the soldiers from Najibabad to return there at once. All the while, the army of men at Puraini grew steadily bigger. The Bishnois of Nagina, who were blackguards and opportunists (save Puran Singh, Dildar, and Faizu who remained well-intentioned throughout), prepared for violence. They told the people of Nagina that Ram Dayal Singh was coming to attack there, while they told Ram Dayal Singh in the same breath that the people of Nagina were coming to attack Puraini. As a result, Ram Dayal Singh advanced on Nagina from Puraini while Mendhun Khan came out from Nagina with some of the men he had collected there.

The clash took place on Friday August 21, 1857 near Badriwalla Bagh. There were killed and wounded on both sides. Mendhu Khan was defeated. The men of

Nagina abandoned the field to hide in the town. Ram Dayal Singh followed them into the town. He looted and set alight Nathu Khan's house. He also looted and set alight the serai [Caravansary] of the Sheikhs. The Muslims of Nagina rallied, and men on both sides were killed in the clash of swords and musket-fire. Ram Dayal Singh went to the serai of the Bishnois. The fighting ended at dusk.

The Muslims of Nagina Obedient to Ram Dayal Singh

Ram Dayal Singh sent a message at night to Maulvi Muhammei Ali that bygones should be bygones. "We will go into the fortress and create no disturbances," he said, "and peace will prevail. For their part," he also said, "the Muslims should all stay quietly at home and not come out." Maulvi Muhammed Ali and Ashraf Ali, son of Amir Ali, made a great effort to admonish the Muslims, who agreed to stay quietly, each in his own house. A proclamation of peace was put out by Ram Dayal Singh in the morning of August 22, 1857. He came to the fortress, the tahsil with his men while no Muslimes came out of their houses.

NOTES

1. *ilaqa* - attachment, dependency, jurisdiction, tenure, estate, etc.

2. The Prophet Muhammad's grandson, al-Husain, was killed on Muharram 10/October 10, 680 at Kerbala in Iraq. Consequently, the first ten days of Muharram are devoted to mourning throughout the Islamic World, and especially by the Shi'a Muslims.

3. Sir William Muir, later Governor and noted for his polemical works on Islamic History.

4. A Hindu sect, important as bankers and traders in Bijnor.

5. The provincial summer capital.

CHAPTER V

The Appearance of Muhammadi Flag

The Faithlessness of the Allies of Ram Dayal Singh and the Killing of the Muslims

The villagers and Banjaras who were with Ram Dayal Singh considered that this agreement conflicted with their interest in loot. The villainous Bishnois incited them still more, so that they were united to burn Nagina. Sedhmal, cashier of the tahsil office, was present there at the time. He told me that he had heard with his own ears Ram Dayal Singh admonish them, but they would not listen. In the end, these rogues began to fire jezails from the fortress of the tahsil while some looters entered the sutler's serai to burn it down and began to loot shops in the bazaar. The jizail was fired on the house of Imam-ud-din Zamindar. Its door was set alight and the house looted. Wherever these rogues got the upper hand, looting and slaughter followed. The wicked Bishnois also joined with them.

Between 50 to 60 Muslims were killed. The Muslims then emerged from their houses, weapons in hand, and began to kill. Then a real battle was fought. Between 200 to 500 Hindu looters were killed. The Muslims penetrated the fortress. Ram Dayal Singh fled to hide in the serai of the Bishnois. All the villagers banded together to attack the house of Maulvi Muhammad Ali, a well-known rich man; Mir Turab Ali Tahisldar was staying there. They piled trash near the door in order to set it alight and killed Hakim Imam Ali, maternal uncle of Maulvi Muhammad Ali. They fired muskets from the top of the roof of Maulvi Muhammad Ali's house. The people of Nagina who had penetrated into the tahsil came to Maulvi Muhammad Ali's place. Then the villagers ran away, and Ram Dayal Singh was defeated. In this struggle, the villagers' will to fight was broken.

Gathering in Najibabad After the Killing of Muslims; the Muhammadi Flag Appears

This news was constantly being relayed to Najibabad. At the time that the Hindus were killing the Muslims, some men had come to Najibabad shouting that the Hindus had killed Muslims and dishonored their women. The Nawab took clever advantage of this development to group his forces. He told the people: "Look what the Hindus have done to the Muslims! All the Muslims ought to come together to kill the Hindus!" Ahmad Allah Khan also made use of such slogans. He took out his artillery, sent his army, and also raised the Muhammadi Flag on August 22, 1857 AD./Muharram 1, 1274 A.H. at Jalalabad near Najibabad. A large force came together, since many Muslims were ready to fight a religious war to kill the Hindus.

On the same day, news reached Bijnor that Ram Dayal Singh had been defeated at Nagina. Budh Singh; the Chaudhri of this city; the Rais of Haldaur and his men; and Chaudhri Partab Singh with his men, artillery, and the jezail - all of

whom were present in Bijnor - left together at once for Nagina. They arrived there at dusk. In Nagina, people were aware that Chaudhri Budh Singh had come with thousands of men and with artillery to attack the city. That night the Muslims of Nagina wanted to flee; women and children left on foot. They were robbed enroute, and even women were wounded. Persons of very high social status were disgraced. Bishnois were the main perpetrators and the cause of these evils that were done to the Muslim men and women. Sayyid Turab Ali Tehsildar later told us that the disgrace and hardship born by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, by the women and children of respectable Muslims, and by himself were such that they could not be described.

Bishnois' Second Attack on Nagina and Chaudhris Budh Singh's Opposition

Chaudhri Budh Singh of Haldaur reached Nagina in the morning of August 23, 1857 with the intention of restoring peace by a settlement. Prudhan Kunwar Sain, Bhup Singh, and Sheikh Najaf Ali were negotiating together when suddenly Bishnois and many villagers began to attack Mulvi Muhammad Ali's house in order to loot it. Again bullets began to fly. Chaudhri Budh Singh made a great personal effort to bring this attack to a halt. He condemned the Bishnois roundly. He asked the people of Nagina for the artillery matrix, which was in the Bishnoi quarter; they replied that he could take it away, since it meant nothing to them. This particular matter, then, was settled peacefully.

At one o'clock Ram Dayal Singh and Moti Singh came to Maulvi Muhammad Ali to ask pardon for the excesses of the Bishnois and their own helplessness. At this time Chaudhri Budh Singh called Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar and Maulvi Muhammad Ali to come to him without arms; they went together, accompanied by Ram Dayal Singh. He gave them satisfaction and closed with a plea that they should try to keep the peace among themselves; Sayyid Turab Ali and Maulvi Mohammad Ali were able to convince the Muslims to accept this plea; and thus, there was peace in Nagina. Chaudhri Budh Singh and Ram Dayal Singh departed for Haldaur with the matrix of the artillery piece.

Attack and Burning of Sawaheri by Ahmad Allah Khan

This event occurred in Nagina on August 23, 1857. Meanwhile in Najibabad the soldiers and troopers of the Nawab had been mobilized. Many Muslims, including weavers and all the peddlars of Sawaheri, whom the Hindus had been exploiting, came together near Jalalabad under the Muhammedi Flag. A very large army of men was assembled about Ahmad Allah Khan when news came of the defeat of Ram Dayal Singh at Nagina. Taking this news as a good omen, Ahmad Allah Khan launched his own attack against Sawaheri. There were only a few men present in Sawaheri out of the army that had once assembled there. Some had gone to Nagina for loot, while others had fled upon hearing of Ram Dayal Singh's defeat. Only a handful of men and two jezails were present to put up some slight resistance when Ahmad Allah Khan, Shafi Allah Khan, and Mareh surrounded Sawaheri. The villagers fled en masse, and the two jezails were taken. The invaders set Sawaheri on fire and burned it down. Meanwhile, in Bijnor news was being received regularly that the Nawab was about to attack the city; his men actually did advance a few miles toward Bijnor.

The Situation in Bijnor When Sawaheri Was Set on Fire

There was no army of men in Bijnor. Only Chaudhri Randhir Singh was on hand with one piece of artillery and some 50 to 60 men who had been hired to dig trenches in the streets of Sawaheri. Chaudhris Jodh Singh and Nain Singh were also present. Although plans were afoot to mobilize men, not even one man had come; and all those in Bijnor could feel the ground slip from beneath their feet. By prearrangement, Chaudhri Jodh Singh galloped off from the trenches to reach home with his family while Chaudhri Nain Singh sent trusted men to his palace to have all needed things ready at a moment's notice. Chaudhri Randhir Singh also intended to leave for Haldaur; he sent his artillery piece there.

The Deputy Sahib and I - the Sadr Amin - together closed the Tahsil building. We armed ourselves, as well as the handful of men who were there to prepare for Ahmad Allah Khan's coming to Bijnor; we would fight to the death. As a matter of precaution we burned the letters and papers from the Government, including copies of our own reports that were on hand. The whole city was in panic. Many people encamped on the banks of the Ganga or in the two streams. A great hubbub arose in the city.

Departure of Deputy Sahib and Sadr Amin for Haldaur

The Muslims of Bijnor came together at this time to tell Chaudhri Randhir Singh that the town would be looted if he should leave. They asked him to take his usual place in the trenches on the assurance that they would support him. Chaudhri Randhir Singh accepted this support. He went to the trenches and brought back his artillery. Chaudhri Jodh Singh also came. The three Chaudhris, their men, and the Muslims of Bijnor stayed on the line of entrenchment until evening; but Ahmad Allah Khan did not come that day. He encamped at Basikotla.

Chaudhri Randhir Singh told us that night that he did not propose to stay in Bijnor; that the Chaudhris of Bijnor were also about to leave; that it would not be wise for us to stay on, that we also should go to Haldaur that very night. The Deputy Sahib and myself - the Sadr Amin - set out of Bijnor in the dead of night to arrive in Haldaur at dawn on August 24, 1857. Chaudhri Budh Singh had reached there just a short while before. He gave us an interview. Chaudhri Partab Singh had brought from Tajpur all the sums of money requested by the Commissioner; the Rs. 5,000 collected as detailed below, was thereupon sent to Nainital through Raja Sahib Kashipur:

Chaudhri Pardhir Singh	Rs. 1,500
Chaudhri Partab Singh	1,500
Chaudhri Umrao Singh	1,000
Chaudhir Laikh Raj Singh of Nihtaur	1,000
	Rs. 5,000

Killing of Bishnois of Nagina by Ahmad Allah Khan and Destruction of their Serai

Chaudhri Budh Singh left Haldaur towards daybreak on August 24, 1857. He aimed to bring Chaudhri Randhir Singh to Haldaur. At this same time Ahmad Allah Khan was told that Nagina was being evacuated. All the Muslims - that is, all those who were with him to commit violence under the Muhammedi flag - were primarily interested in taking revenge on the Bishnois of Nagina, the Hindus who had committed excesses in Ram Dayal Singh's time against the Muslims and their honor. For this reason, Ahmad Allah Khan deferred going to Bijnor and chose instead to set out for Nagina. Arriving there at two o'clock, he made his first concern the despoilation of the serai of the Bishnois. Shaikh Najif Ali, landlord of Nagina opposed this aim. Mendhu Khan, son of Nathu Khan abused Shaikh Najif Ali and raised his musket to shoot him down. Others intervened at this point when news came that the Bishnois had killed a trooper and two foot soldiers in their serai. An artillery piece was then fired at their serai, to open a general command of the place, and all the Bishnois fled with their wives and children; five or six were also killed.

Looters carried on at the serai to their heart's content for two whole days, during which the homes and solidly-built buildings of the Bishnois were all, without exception, set on fire. It is well-known that 52 Bishnois were killed in all the battles and skirmishes. Ahmad Allah Khan also gave an order to seize and kill at sight, Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar. Men were sent off to hunt him down; but Muhammed Ali, landlord of Nagina, succeeded in hiding him. Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Mir Ashraf Ali used all kinds of flattery in order to intercede for Sayyid Turab Ali as the "poor foreigner" who was entitled to protection. They managed to save his life, mainly because Ahmad Allah Khan and company were all Pathans, who look with disfavor on the killing of a Sayyid. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, however, had to put up security for his availability and good conduct; and a guard was stationed at the door of the Maulvi's house, as well. Ahmad Allah Khan encamped in Nagina with his companions and army until the 25th.

The First Fight at Haldaur, The Chaudhris' Defeat and the Burning of Haldaur

Shafi Allah Khan, Ahmad Allah Khan, and Mareh all marched in the direction of Nihtaur in order to attach Haldaur. In great splendor; drums beating and flags flying; with all their men, two pieces of artillery, and some jezails, Chaudhri Randhir Singh and Chaudhri Budh Singh went out to offer resistance. Ahmad Allah Khar, Shafi Allah Khan, and Mareh attacked with their army from the direction of Nihtaur. The two sides met at the Ban River between the villages of Jhiroti and Begrajpur. Two pieces of artillery were fired from the Chaudhris' side. The Nawab's troopers attacked; the villagers, massed in throngs about the Chaudhris, ran away; and the battled was lost.

Ditches and mounds had been dug beforehand around Haldaur; road blocks and entrenchments had also been prepared around the city. The defeated Chaudhris entered Haldaur with their two artillery pieces. They placed their artillery on the line of entrenchment and opened fire behind the protection of the mounds. In spite of the narrow openings and the seemingly impregnable barriers, a few troopers from the Government regiments who had joined the Nawab's army successfully attacked the trenches and penetrated inside. Between 50 and 60 of the Chaudhris' men were killed; among them was Gobind Singh, a land agent of Chaudhri Partab Singh, who fell fighting bravely in this affray at the barriers.

The Chaudhris gave up the trenches, to retreat with the guns to their mansions; the troopers took after them. The Chaudhris reached their place safely but on the way lost two pieces which had belonged to the very fine Government magazine and which Lord Lake, the English Commander-in-Chief, later presented to Nawab Ahmad Baksh Khan Bahadur - Wali of Ferozepur and which Chaudhri Sahib of Haldaur then later bought at the auction of the effects of Shams-ud-din Khan. The pieces were seized and taken outside the entrenchments of Haldaur. An ancestral piece of artillery, made of iron (called Kara Khan) that had belonged to the Chaudhri Sahib was raised from its axle on the entrenchment by a few villagers and carried along to his mansion. The door was barred, each person awaiting the Nawab's coming, while those who were inside looked for their own death. The artillerymen of the Nawab set up a piece to open fire from the eastern side of a building opposite to where Deputy Sahib and myself were staying. Despite the large size of the building that was their target, the artillerymen were such "masters" of their art that they failed to make even a single hit. The Nawab's troopers who had penetrated into the city withdrew with two artillery pieces to reform their ranks outside the ditch and mounds of Haldaur.

It can be said with certainty that Haldaur was clear of all the Nawab's men at this moment; yet, suddenly, the buildings of Haldaur began to burn fiercely. No doubt, the cloth printers and confectioners - who were all Muslim residents of Haldaur - had set these buildings belonging to Hindus on fire. There was a long history of bad blood between the Chaudhris and them about house rentals, the building of a mosque, and other matters. This rancor was so profound that all the buildings of the Hindus were ablaze in a short while; there were 10 to 12 Hindu fatalities, in addition.

The fire was so big inside the four corners of Haldaur that all movement ceased on the road and the Nawab's army stayed outside, without entering the city to claim their victory. When Ahmad Allah Khan realized that the conflagration would continue to burn for several days, he decided to leave with his entire army to encamp at Jhalu. Enroute he burned down the village of Pheriyapur. At this time, he learned that Bijnor was entirely empty; he decided to take up residence there. Accompanied by troopers and foot soldiers, he entered Bijnor at 10 o'clock that night. In all, he had an army of between 2500 and 3000 men with him.

Chaudhri Jodh Singh had been watching the spectacle of the fighting at Haldaur from a distance of about five miles. When he knew for certain that Haldaur had been lost and was on fire, he returned to Bijnor to relate the circumstances to Chaudhri Nain Singh. Taking their family members, the Chaudhris abandoned Bijnor to cross the Ganges by boat. On reaching Bijnor, Ahmad Allah Khan looked everywhere but could not find them.

Having taken Haldaur, Ahmad Allah Khan and Mareh decided to attack Tajpur. They proclaimed in Nihtaur that Haldaur and Tajpur might be freely looted. Chaudhri Pratab Singh also became alarmed on hearing news of the defeat at Haldaur and the death of Gobind Singh, his agent. He knew that his end might come at any time. Within the hour, he left Tajpur for Kant. Thus, Tajpur was deserted; if Ahmad Allah Khan had sent his army there, he could have taken Tajpur that very hour.

Massacre of Muslims in Haldaur

There was great joy in Haldaur at the departure of Ahmad Allah Khan. People's spirits revived sufficiently for them to pass the night somehow or other. The men who fled with the Chaudhris even came back that night. A crowd of men from Pheona[1] also came, so that there was again an assembly of some 3.000 men in Haldaur. On Friday August 28, 1857/7th of Muharram 1274 A.H., the Hindu landlords barred all the exits before sunrise and had slaughtered to the last man all the Muslim confectioners, cloth printers, potters, etc. who could be found. Many women were seized and imprisoned; some were even killed by accident. Some wounded men, women, and children reached Chandpur after fleeing all the way. The villainous and infamous confectioners and cloth printers, who had probably instigated the violence in Haldaur and set the city on fire, were the ones who had gotten away earlier, unscathed and with their families, at the time when Ahmad Allah Khan had left. The victims, then, were those who had stayed on in Haldaur because they had thought themselves without blame.

The massacre continued unabated until evening. All Muslim houses were burnt down, and many Hindu houses in their midst were unintentionally burned down too. The situation in Haldaur was such that, save for two stoutly-built mansions, not a single house was spared from plunder and fire. Not a single bit of straw remained in Haldaur. A bird in search of some straw for its nest at that time could not have borrowed even a tiny bit in Haldaur.

The Hindus were so bitter against the Muslims that they even killed men who just happened to have come to the city purely by chance. Shouting with all their might, the villagers minced no words about what should happen to the Deputy Sahib and myself; although we were guests of the Hindu landlords, it seemed we ought to be killed, because we were Muslims. Chaudhri Randhir Singh protected us to the utmost. He admonished us through his messenger to lock ourselves in, including our servants, whom we were not to allow out on any account. Any infraction of this advice, he warned, could mean our deaths. We were on this account in hard straits for water and food for three days in Haldaur.

The Deputy Sahib and Sadr Amin Leave Haldaur and an Attack on them in Pilana and Chandpur

We now recognized that we could not stay on in Haldaur; there was not a single place in the whole District where we could stay. Circumstances thus forced us to abandon the District. We spent the day of the 29th in Haldaur

as best we could. We left on foot at 10 o'clock at night to make our way by road with extreme difficulty and hardship. At first light of dawn our party, which included Deputy Sahib, Mathura Das, and Banke Rae - the Treasurer, reached the outskirts of the village of Pachniyan. We learned that a large band of men were waiting here to rob and kill us, so we had to change our route to take the Pilana road.

As we reached the outskirts of Pilana, we saw a crowd of 2,000 armed peasants running to rob and kill us. One Baksh Singh, the Pradhan of Village Pilana, recognized Dupty Sahib and myself. He stopped the peasants and, acting as our protector, took us through the entire village to its other boundary. When we reached village Khirki, the landowners there did their best to comfort us. Milk and water were offered and we were shown due deference. Some men from this place accompanied us to make sure we got to Chandpur.

Even more serious trouble was in store for us in Chandpur. We were spotted, as we approached the gate, by blackguard Muslims of the town. An uproar broke out suddenly in the Batia Para quarter. Hundreds of men armed with swords, clubs, pistols, and muskets emerged to attack us. Our lives were already forfiet when suddenly Sadiq Ali, landlord of Chandpur, appeared to help us. With the aid of his relatives and servants he was able to stop the miscreants. Many other men of Chandpur came out to help us too. Their combined forces saved us from the hands of those villains. Mir Sadiq Ali took us into his own house where we were able to rest, and the next day he personally accompanied us to village Chichola. We went to Bichraon; from there we sent a detailed account of our story to the Government authorities. After a few days rest there due to illness, the Deputy Sahib left by way of Khorja to look after his family; I - the Sadr Amin - went straight to present myself at Meerut, where the high officers were staying.

Reasons for Fresh Violence in District

The administration of the District was in our hands when this violence occurred. I would therefore regard it as extremely improper if I failed to take up the question of why violence was able to spread so quickly in the District. It was clear in my mind at the time that this kind of violence would inevitably happen sooner or later if the Government army should fail to appear. The only explanation for the suddeness with which it happened was the strife at Nagina. There should be no doubt that the receipt of the orders and letters to the landlords from the English authorities, as before related, had implanted a fear of Government in everyone's heart. The notices and proclamations that we had put up everywhere, including Najibabad itself, and the coming of Mr. George Palmer as far as Dhampura -- both these together made everyone believe that the Government army and authorities would soon be coming to the District.

Furthermore, when we took over charge of the District, the Muslims believed that the Hindus would not be allowed to repeat the mischief they had committed after the victories of Sherkot and Bijnor, nor would the Muslims be able to commit excesses against Hindus. In the same way that the courts were functioning, just so would the District go on in its old way. We yearned for events to

take this course. In truth, however, we were helpless. The people who were ready to help us were the ones who were not under our authority but acted in this helpful way merely because they themselves wanted to. Those who listened to our views obeyed only to the extent that they had made a mental commitment beforehand. Those who happened to be our helpers or under the authority of people who were directly helping us - these, too, did not obey those to whom they were supposed to be subordinate. We remained apart. Those events in the District that were about to take place against our wishes and directly contrary to our views -- these events we had no power to stop.

We well understood that the matrix of the artillery piece would lead to mischief in Nagina; but at the time the idea did not occur to us to put a claim on it, since it was useless just now and could harm nobody. Its ability to cause harm as a weapon was a matter for future anticipation. Take, for example, the people who had gone to take Nagina. When the landlords of Nagina had sent off the soldiers and men to Najibabad, Ram Dayal Singh's stay at Puraini was improper and a cause of mischief. Ram Dayal Singh ought to have come back at once: we had sent the Police Inspector of Nagina and also called Maulvi Qadir Ali Tehsildar in order to send him to Nagina. But we could exercise control only through the agency of the landlords; although we ordered that Ram Dayal Singh should be called back, it is sad to note that the hearts of our helpers had decided from the start not to carry out our word.

The Bishnois of Nagina, who are an old factious and barren breed, became the cause of even greater breaches of the peace; they incited disorder in Nagina. The Muslims saw that the Hindu chiefs and rulers were able to rule as before and do as they pleased -- even killing Muslims, as occurred in Nagina. Most people had gone to Najibabad. The Nawab saw that the eyes of all were fixed on him. He raised the Muhammadi flag; at once violence was set afoot and religious war was established in the District.

The basic reason for the disaster which overtook us in Chandpur was our known pro-Government position and our assumption of the District administration. But the widespread disturbance in Chandpur became particularly intense as the rioters shouted with all their might that we did not deserve to live because we had plotted with the Hindu landlords to have the Muslims of Nagina killed and their women and daughters dishonored, and because we had Muslims in Haldaur slaughtered before our very eyes. We were hearing all this when the confectioners and cloth printers of Haldaur -- the wounded who had saved themselves by flight -- reached Chandpur just before us. More people were becoming angry on seeing their plight, as we innocent ones came on the scene there unexpectedly. Intelligent people understood that we had not done these things, but the ignorant did not accept their guidance. If all had done what we wanted them to do, the District would have stood fast until either the Government army had arrived or until the people had lost all hope of its ever coming.

The Second Battle of Haldaur and Defeat of the Chaudhris

After our departure, the Chaudhris [Hindu landlords] of Haldaur again began to think of regrouping their forces. They became busy putting up protective works before their mansions. Men again crowded into Haldaur while Ahmad Allah Khan and Mareh stayed on at Bijnor. On Sunday August 31, 1857/Muharram 9, 1274 A.H., Ahmad Allah Khan and Mareh attacked Haldaur a second time. They took with them (in order at first to offer peace and a compromise) Suti Jamiat Singh

- landlord of Bijnor and Lala Khub Chand - Vakil of the Sadr Amin's court, Bijnor, who had once been an agent of the Chaudhris of Haldaur. The army of Ahmad Allah Khan set out for Haldaur. As Chaudhri Partab Singh went from Tajpur by way of Kant, the people there sent some of their men and an artillery piece to Tajpur to protect his residence where they stayed. Accordingly, a separate group left Tajpur with Narayan Sahay and that artillery piece to support the Chaudhris of Haldaur. They dug a line of entrenchment in a garden close to Haldaur.

Ahmad Allah Khan stopped his army near Haldaur at the sandy soil of Baldia; from there the two negotiators went to the Chaudhris. A settlement could not be worked out. As their return was delayed, Ahmad Allah Khan surrounded the Haldaur group and, putting its men to flight, seized the artillery piece from Kant. The battle started in earnest the moment Suti Jamiat Singh and Lala Kubh Chand left Haldaur. The men of the Chaudhris were beseiged in the mansion from where they opened musket fire. The artillerymen of Ahmad Allah Khan fired from several directions bur failed to break the walls of the palace. Their small arms could do nothing at this point. The artillery fire was kept up for some time further. Some men of Ahmad Allah Khan were killed as they were about to attack the gate of the mansion.

Ahmad Allah Khan decided to leave and march toward Nihtaur, where he encamped. He stayed there for a second day - that is, August 31, 1857/Muharram 10, 1274 A.H. On September 1, he marched from Nihtaur toward Bijnor. Enroute he came upon village Nangal, where at the time of the Sherkot fight several soldiers of the Nawab had been killed. Nangal was looted and set on fire; many of its men were slaughtered. Chaudhri Budh Singh and Chaudhri Maharaj Singh feared to keep their families any longer in Haldaur; they all left for Pheona, while Chaudhri Randhir Singh continued to stay on alone in Haldaur. After placing their families in Pheona, Chaudhri Budh Singh returned to Haldaur and Chaudhri Maharaj Singh went to Tajpur. He called Chaudhri Partab Singh from Kant. After discussions, the two departed for Haldaur. The next day Chaudhri Partab Singh came to Tajpur.

Jalal-ud-din Khan as Manager; and the Proposal for a Compromise with the Chaudhris

After this battle, the entire District slipped easily under Nawab Mahmud Khan's control. His advisors now took up administrative questions. They decided to reach a compromise with the Chaudhris and to name Jalal-ud-din Khan as Deputy Nawab with plenipotentiary powers. Jalal-ud-din Khan was appointed to this post because the Chaudhris were so angry with Ahmad Allah Khan that they could not deal with him as the Nawab's representative. Another reason was the urgent need for money at this period. Ahmad Allah Khan could get money only with great difficulty, but Jalal-ud-din Khan was generally regarded as trustworthy. They thought that with him as plenipotentiary, it would even be easier to borrow money. The warrant for his authority as plenipotentiary was then drafted, and the initial exchanges for a compromise were undertaken. Sa'd Allah Khan - the Munsif at Amroha - wrote letters to the Chaudhris for this purpose. In this letter, he promised there would be a general settlement achieved through him after the agreement for his full powers had been written. The letter which he wrote to the Chaudhris on this subject is reproduced in full.

Copy of Sa'd Allah Khan's letter Addressed to
Chaudhris Randhir Singh, Budh Singh, and Maharaj Singh,
Undated

Dear and kind Chaudhari Sahiban! May God keep you. I crave a pleasant visit with you, and desire nothing more at all. I desire no more than friendship. Praise be to God.

Your letter revealing your thoughts, and also your well-being, was received through Hakim Shuja Ali and Sayyid Imtiaz Ali.

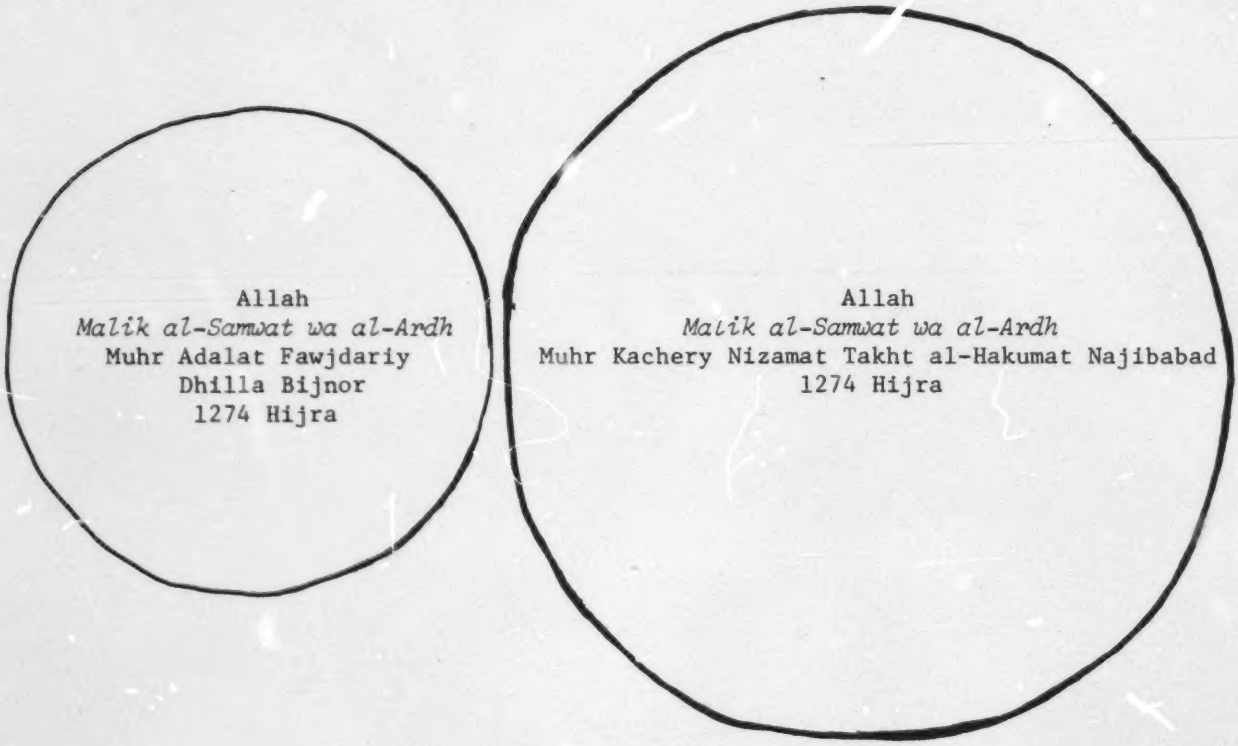
The fact is this: Nawab Mahmud Khan has decided to confer full powers of a plenipotentiary on Jalal-ud-din Khan, and a draft to this effect has also been prepared. But it has not been sealed yet, and it has not been examined by us. Unless this matter is finalized, I am reluctant to approach you personally. However, this much is pinned down: that should this matter be completed by noon, I will ride to Kiratpur in order to spend the night there, and you will be accordingly informed.

Everything is alright with me. Hakim Shuja Ali and Sayyid Imtiaz Ali are being kept here. If the matter is not settled today, a period of two or three days' wait will be necessary to finally settle the matter.

Delay in Naming Jalal-ud-din Khan

This arrangement was brought to a halt because it angered Ahmad Allah Khan. He got all the officers to side with him. The army officers promised Ahmad Allah Khan that they were with him and that they would support him if Mahmud Khan excluded him. The arrangement was perforced suspended; and a council was named to resolve the dispute, so that whatever arrangements for the District were decided on would stand as the work of this council. The order written by Mahmud Khan on this question is reproduced in full at this point: An order at the court of Amir-ud-Daulah, Dhia-al-mulk Zawi-al-Qader Nawab Mahmud Khan Bahadur Muzzafar Jang, on September 13, 1857. Because of the prevailing anarchy in the District, I have named as my general representatives Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan, Muhammad Ahmad Yar Khan, Mohammed Shafi Allah Khan, Akhundzada Abdul Rehman, and Sayyid Ahmad Shah. Since the entire administration has been entrusted to these gentlemen, it is necessary that all administrative questions - whether orders, letters, news and intelligence, or any matter relating to the courts of justice - should be issued, without hindrance, on the advice and council of the above - mentioned gentlemen, it being proposed that orders should appear as having been presented to me and unanimously approved by them; it is very proper at this time that an order to sanction this proposal be signed by me. It is therefore ordered that: all proposals that may be issued by these gentlemen should be unanimously approved by them and sent for me for signature and issuance of order. Opposition against any matter agreed to by them will not be tolerated from anyone. A copy for information of this order may be sent to these five gentlemen; the original will be kept in the record-offices.

Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Allah Khan had new seals made at this time, for the Collectorate and for the Criminal Court. On these seals the words *Allah Malik al-Samwat wa al-Ardh* (God is the king of Heaven and Earth) were engraved and the Higira year was written instead of the Christian year. Only on the first of the new seals were the words "Bijnor District" left off and the words "Under Government of Najibabad" engraved in their place. Their designs are reproduced:



Sa'd Allah Khan's Agreement

Since Jalal-ud-Din Khan's full powers were suspended as a result of the naming of this Council, Sa'd Allah Khan could no longer speak with his former authority. He still persisted in his attempts to bring about a settlement with the Chaudhris. Sa'd Allah Khan went to them in Nihtaur as a friendly gesture. Despite his summoning them, not one of the Chaudhris came to meet him. Sa'd Allah Khan had to return empty-handed to Nagina on September 6, 1857.

Battle of Pamrawali and Defeat of Chaudhris

Chaudhri Budh Singh and Chaudhri Maharaj Singh decided to fight the Nawab once more. They wrote letters to the brotherhoods and asked Chaudhri Partab Singh for help too. They mobilized at the village of Pheona. Those who assembled included the Chaudhris of Kant; Narayan Sahai, who came with a jizail from Chaudhri Partab Singh; Gulab Singh of Cherkosi; some zamindars of Pheona; and the

other village supporters of Chaudhri Budh Singh Sahib. When this mobilization was completed, they set out to attack Najibabad upon getting word of their advance, Ahmad Allah Khan sent some men, under the command of Shafi Allah Khan, from Nagina and from Kiratpur. The Chaudhris came with their men to the nearby village of Purawah, where the battle began. It proved to be a small affair. The villagers all ran away, and the Chaudhris were defeated on the field. The Nawab's army seized an ancestral artillery piece called Kara Khan, which belonged to the Chaudhris of Haldaur; two jezails; and two shields. Chaudhri Budh Singh and Maharaj Singh reached Pheona by way of Haldaur. This victory made Shafi Allah Khan famous. He won the title of "Bahadur" (brave one); he also began to be called The Brave General. Accordingly, this title of his is seen in most of the documents.

Another Peace Message to the Chaudhris

After this battle Ahmad Allah Khan and the Nawabi advisors realized that they either had to reach a firm compromise with the Chaudhris or else extirpate them altogether as an element which would always be a source of concern. The Chaudhris too wanted to end the violence. They also sent peace messages and letters from their side to the effect that they could not present themselves in person, out of fear for their lives and honor. Even though the Nawab was offering them satisfaction they still were at a loss, they observed, nor had their feeling of confidence been restored. A full copy of the letter that Sa'd Allah Khan sent to Chaudhri Partab Singh in this matter on September 22, 1857 is reproduced at this point:

Copy of letter of Sa'd Allah Khan to Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur about a settlement.

Dear Chaudhri Sahib: Your letter came and its contents are understood. We know that times are bad for you. Otherwise, how could you say that you suspect me, who look upon you as my own son? When your talk is so completely outside my grasp, what remedy can I propose? You really ought to come to see me at Nagina, free from any sense of fear. Remove all fear from your mind. If you will not come to me, then devise some better plan. If you permit these subterfuges, then you will be ruined and destroyed. Be well advised and come without fear. What is there to fear when you know me as your patron? It is much better when you never, never have the least fear. So, this very night, set out and come to me. Your distress is a cause of great concern to me. Allah, my God, if I regard you as less worthy than Muhammad Ismail Khan, then God knows this and you do too. Finis. First Sifar 1274 H.

Departure of Ghazanafar Ali Khan to Nihtaur and Meeting with Chaudhri Randhir Singh

A peace message was also sent through Sa'd Allah Khan to Chaudhri Partab Singh while Nathu Khan met Chaudhri Umrao Singh - landlord of Sherkot, to discuss a settlement. Ghazanafar Ali Khan - the elder son of Mahmud Khan - and Mareh departed from Nihtaur with a large army, to force the Chaudhris of Haldaur to choose between coming in to pay their respects or witnessing the second destruction of their town. A message was sent to Chaudhri Randhir Singh through

Jai Raj Singh of Puraini and Laikh Raj Singh of Nihtaur. On September 25, 1857 he came to Nihtaur, where he met Ghazanafar Ali Khan and gave as his offering a dagger and Rs. 50; while Ghazanafar Ali Khan gave him a pair of shawls as a ceremonial robe of honor. Ghazanafar Ali Khan told Chaudhri Randhir Singh to present Chaudhri Budh Singh and Chaudhri Maharaj Singh to him. Chaudhri Randhir Singh promised to call them.

Then, after this meeting, he left for Haldaur; Yaqub Ali Khan of Rampur, Ghazanafar Ali Khan, and Man Singh - brother of Laikh Raj Singh - accompanied him to Haldaur in order to bring in Chaudhri Budh Singh and Maharaj Singh. After Haldaur, they went to further to the village of Pheona, in order to catch up with the Chaudhris. However, Chaudhris Budh Singh and Maharaj Singh did not come to this proposed meeting. They temporized by various artful devices and instead crossed the Ganges soon afterward to go to the English authorities.

In the end, it was agreed through correspondence that Chaudhri Partab Singh - landlord of Tajpur should come to Puraini village; from there he would return to Tajpur after an oral interview with Sa'd Allah Khan. Chaudhri Partab Singh and Sa'd Allah Khan met in Puraini. Sa'd Allah Khan took Chaudhri Partab Singh by the hand and seated him on an elephant, to take him to Nagina. Chaudhri Amrao Singh - landlord of Sherkot also came to Nagina to meet Sa'd Allah Khan. When Mahmud Khan learned that the two Chaudhris were in Nagina, he wrote to Sa'd Allah Khan that they should be brought to Najibabad. This was done, and their interview with Mahmud Khan took place on September 26. The two Chaudhris gave him some gold coins as a token of their homage, and Mahmud Khan gave them ceremonial robes and dismissed them on the next day.

Massacre of Hindus in Sherkot

When Chaudhri Umrao Singh set out from Sherkot to go to Nagina, Ghazanafar Ali Khan and Mareh marched from Nihtaur to Sherkot on September 26, for the purpose of killing the Hindus there. The Hindus of Sherkot wanted to run away. Burhan-ud-din-Qadi of Sherkot summoned the Patwaris [village accountants] who were of the Bania caste to his house in order to assemble them in one place. The crowd that was gathered at his door at this time raised a big outcry. The Qadi drove out all those who were staying in his house for protection. They were attacked right in front of his door. Thirty-one men -- Patwaris, Brahmins and Bhats -- were unjustly and griveously butchered; twenty-nine were killed outright, while two men escaped wounded. From this time on, the fear of the wretch Mareh became overpowering, especially for the Hindus, whose hearts were so repressed they began to tremble and shiver wherever his army appeared.

Mareh became more formidable after these events. A dispute arose in the family of Mahmud Khan over the division of the country. Mareh won Ghazanafer Ali Khan over to his side. He wanted to disposses Ahmad Allah Khan completely. Tension lasted several days until a compromise was reached along the following

lines: Mahmud Khan would receive Rs. 12,000 in cash each month; the Tahsils [sub-districts] of Nagina, Dhampur, and Chandpur would go to Mareh Khan and Ghazanafar Ali Khan; and the Tahsils of Najibabad and Bijnor would go to Ahmad Allah Khan. Ghazanafar Ali Khan and Mareh were to give Rs. 8,000 per month to Mahmud Khan and Rs. 4,000 per month to Ahmad Allah Khan. This arrangement lasted for only a short while.

Sahib Commissioner Helps Chaudhri Budh Singh and Sends him Back to the District

Chaudhri Budh Singh and Chaudhri Maharaj Singh were present near the authorities in Meerut. They repeatedly asked the Commissioner of Meerut for a small amount of help, so that they might again fight Mahmud Khan to drive him out of the District. They gave assurance that they could still rally their brotherhoods in large numbers. The Commissioner hesitated, but in the end acceded to their repeated requests. He arranged for some men from Lala Gorsahay - Nazir of Hasanpur and from Gulab Singh - landlord of Kotesar. Orders were also sent to all the landlords of the District that nobody was to help Mahmud Khan, on pain of being declared criminals. This entire plan was worked out on October 17, 1857, at which time orders were sent. The Chaudhris were given permission to leave Meerut. A copy of the order is reproduced in full at this point:

Copy of the order from Edward Philip Williams - Commissioner of Meerut to all the landlords of District Bijnor. Chaudhri Budh Singh - Taluqdar of Haldaur and Nazir Gorsahay - Nazim of Hasanpur are appointed, together with the forces of Rao Gulab Singh - Reis of Kotesar, to repel and expel Nawab Mahmud Khan, Jalal-ud-din Khan, Azmat Allah Khan, Ahmad Allah Khan, Shafi Allah Khan, Mareh, etc. This order is sent to you so that your people -- whether relative, servant, or resident of your city -- will not shelter, aid, nor serve the aforementioned rebels. If they do so, then you will be considered guilty; and all of your moveable property, land, etc. will be taken by the Government and a heavy punishment will be inflicted on you. Your residence will be treated like the dwelling of the rebels of Mala Garh and Thana Bhawan.

Take care that you do not bring upon yourself such a disaster nor fall prey to the deceit of foolish people, so that now for no purpose at all you may be publicly chastized. Let your good sense go into the matter. If the Government should decide to cleanse all the people, what would be the result in terms of the need to preserve the country itself? Those who tell you differently tell you lies in order to harm you. Of course, those who are subversives and rebels or who have achieved notoriety by gaining shelter in the rebellion will all be chastized. The rest, those who have been firm in their sympathy toward the Government, will benefit in every way and they will have no cause for anxiety when the Government army arrives. Therefore, it is, incumbent on you to keep clear of the mischief-makers. Do not help them with military means nor give them shelter. When you do such things, you disclose that you favor them. Now you can choose. If you side with the mischief-makers, then know that a Government army is coming shortly and you will be punished in the same way as the mischief-makers themselves. October 17, 1857.

After this correspondence had been written, the two Chaudhris crossed by the ghat at Gadh Muktesar to reach Nagina, where they mobilized the armies of Rao Gulab Singh - Reis of Kotesar and Nazir Gorsahay - Nazam of Hasanpur before going to Dhanwara. From there they dispatched all the orders of Sahib Commissioner Bahadur to the aforementioned Reis, and to Chaudhri Partab Singh - Reis of Tajpur, so that he might in turn transmit it to all those in the District who were the addresses.

Chaudhri Partab Singh was due to send more money to Nainital in this period. The sum which he sent on October 19, 1857 included:

Chaudhri Partab Singh	Rs.	2,000
Umeed Singh, Sita Ram - Chaudhris of Ratangadh		2,000
	Rs.	4,000

By the hand of his own men, Chaudhri Partab Singh sent the order of Government to all the landlords so that they received it on October 28, 1857. Chaudhri Partab Singh arranged rations for his army's stay at Dhanwara. At this time he also prepared for action an artillery piece which he had had made. Because of the growing tension, Chaudhri Umrao Singh - Reis of Sherkot considered it no longer wise to stay there. He left Sherkot for Kashipur on this very day.

Ahmad Allah Khan and Mareh Mobilize at Chandpur to Fight Chaudhri Budh Singh

As soon as Mareh Khan heard of the attack of the Chaudhris of Haldaur, he marched to Chandpur with his army. Shafi Allah Khan and Ahmad Allah Khan mobilized a large force at Chandpur. Ahmad Allah Khan sent letters to the landlords ordering them to join his men, but no one came. On the Muslim side, there was the anxiety of anticipating that the battle might have a disastrous end; all the Muslims in the District knew for certain that they would experience the full measure of force and violence from the Hindus, in case the latter should win. All the landlords, for their part, greatly feared the Government's orders which they had received. Therefore, except for the 8,000-9,000 paid servants of the Nawab, no one else participated on his side. The same was true on the Chaudhris' side; they were also not able to mobilize a large force. On this side there was concern that if the Nawab should win, the Hindus would experience the full measure of Muslim injustice. With all this, if Nazir Gorsahay had attacked, a way would have opened up for the rebels of Bijnor to attack Moradabad District, Dhenwara, etc. In any event, the ranks mobilized by the Chaudhris at Dhanwara could not advance; they scattered instead. The Chaudhris returned from there.

The Third Fight at Haldaur; Arrest of Chaudhri Randhir Singh

Ahmad Allah Khan, Shafi Allah Khan, and Mareh now recognized that they could never be absolute masters of the country while Haldaur's foundations stood. They therefore attacked Haldaur from Chandpur.

Chaudhri Randhir Singh was present in Haldaur with some men when he heard that Ahmad Allah Khan's army was coming to attack. He was trapped in his mansion. Ahmad Allah Khan's army surrounded the place. There were some artillery exchanges and casualties. That night Chaudhri Randhir Singh gave his closest supporters permission to escape and save themselves. Most of them got away. In the morning of November 3, 1857 the army of Ahmad Allah Khan entered the mansion and captured Chaudhri Randhir Singh. Ram Dayal Singh's "brother", born of his paternal aunt, and some five or six other relatives of Randhir Singh were killed. Chaudhri Randhir Singh was put in irons and taken to Najibabad by way of Nagina, where he was interned in a house. All the articles found in Haldaur were looted; the houses of the Chaudhris there were set on fire and the town was left an absolute waste.

When Ahmad Allah Khan and Mareh had left Chandpur for Haldaur - that is on November 2, 1857 - Mareh Khan at the same time wrote a letter to Chaudhri Partab Singh saying that rations should be got ready as "my army will soon enter Tajpur". At the same time as he received this letter, Chaudhri Partab Singh also received news of the defeat at Haldaur and the arrest of Chaudhri Randhir Singh. He realized that this would soon be his own fate. He prepared to leave. He set out from Tajpur on November 5, 1857, reaching Gadh Muktesar on November 7. A copy of Mareh Khan's letter is reproduced at this point:

Chaudhri Sahib Pratap Singh, kind and compassionate to his sincere friends! Greetings! It is the plan of my army to move toward Tajpur. It is desirable that you, mobilizing your resources, should make arrangements to provide necessary provisions for the army so that no soldier suffers from any inconvenience.

All is well with us. The writer of this letter is Chaudhri Imam Bakhsh alias Mareh. Chandpur, Rabi I, 2, 1274 A.H. Seal. Imam Bakhsh.

Mahmud Khan and his allies were no longer worried after this battle. They were now free of all anxiety about the Chaudhris and they immersed themselves in sensual pleasures. The rebels on the other side of the Ganges could see no better place of refuge than Bijnor so Dalil Singh, Qadam Singh Gujar, Raza Hasan - called Chattan, and Inayat Ali Khan - Qadi of Thana Bhawan came there with their companions and allies. The rebels of Bijnor gave them sanctuary. Mirza Altaf, Mirza Haji, and Mirza Mubarak Shah - all fugitive Princes from Delhi - also came to this District. Mahmud Khan and Mareh were formost to show them respect and honor.

These rebels stirred up new violence. They enticed the Bijnor leaders into crossing the Ganges to raid and spread rebellion in Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur. These fools fell in with such schemes and decided to cross the river. This they did on several occasions, damaging some government posts. Raza Hasan - called Chattan, a resident of village Seraei, District Muzzaffarnagar, crossed the Ganges with 50 men. He set fire to the post at Dhanpura and killed 4 peons and captured 2 mares. From there he marched to Ganj Askin. Sardar Khan, resident of Thakadawara, and Dalil Singh Gujar crossed at Nangal with many Gujars to fight with a Government picket and steal some horses. These Gujars and some rebels from the other side of the river crossed at Ravali Ghat to loot the post at Allahabad and the police station at Bhukarheri. Inayat Ali Khan - Qadi of Khera attacked the post at Mujahidpur where he captured two Hindu peons. One

he killed; the other he "converted" to Islam. In the same way Qadi Inayat Ali and Dalil Singh Gujar and Raza Hasan - called Chettan, accompanied by two artillery pieces and 2,000 men, attacked Miranpur, where they looted the police station and some shops. They also killed some men and proclaimed by beat of drums the name of Mahmud Khan, before running off to come back.

First Armed Robbery at Kankhal; Capture of Telegraph Agent

The rebels were encouraged by these events. Shafi Allah Khan decided to attack Roorkee. Several officers were named for this adventure: Najaf Khan, a resident of Najibabad, was appointed an army officer with full authority. The subordinate officers were Jangbaz Khan, a former peon at the kotwali Jawalapur, who afterwards stayed at Kawal; Kafayat Allah Khan, resident of Najibabad, who was formerly a compounder in the Roorkee dispensary and later worked in Mr. Reid's office for Rs. 15 a month. Umar Khan Risaldar and Ali Bahadur Khan were appointed subordinate officers. On January 7, 1858 this army of troopers and foot soldiers crossed the Ganges at a ford to march along the Daram Canal to Miapur, where they attacked the Government post. They let loose five horses that belonged to six canal troopers who were stationed at the outpost, and they burned down the post. They arrested these five troopers: Tajmal Hussain Khan, resident of Manglore; Tafadal Hussain, trooper and resident of Marglore; Nadir Ali, resident of Mandawer; Haider Ali, resident of Purqazi; and Ganesh Singh, from the eastern parts. Nabi Baksh, trooper, a resident of Roorkee, was also arrested but slipped away by some clever ruse. Later they hunted for more Government employees.

At the warehouse of Miapur they arrested one Kirani Sahib - the electric telegraph agent and Maula Mistri. Hollis Tyndale and fifteen red-hatted diggers were all seized, and both bungalows belonging to Captain Reid were set on fire. Maula Bakhsh and Muhammed Hasan, watchmen, were also seized but managed to escape by some clever ruse. Next they went to Kankhal, where they broke the telegraph line, proclaimed Mahmud Khan's name, and gave security to the inhabitants. Then they went to Hardwar, where they also proclaimed Mahmud Khan's name. At 11 AM they arrived at village Anji on this side of the Ganges, where more of their men were encamped.

English Order to Mareh on Kankhal

At 3 PM the news of these events reached Roorkee; from there it was relayed to Manglore, where some Government troops were stationed. That night the English army and officers marched. The officers and men described below reached Miapore at dawn on January 8, 1858.

Brigadier Major Barrigan,
Captain Barrigan
Captain Draymond (Canal Superintendent)
Thompson (Deputy Canal Superintendent)
Philip (Canal Supervisor)
Melville (Joint Magistrate Saharanpur)
Soldiers, Sikh Regiment, 100

Soldiers, Gurkha Regiment, 50
Soldiers, European Regiment, 10
Troopers, First Khaki Regiment, 25
Artillery, 2 pieces

At this time, Mr. Melville Sahib Bahadur and Thompson Sahib Bahadur, taking along four troopers and Khadim Ali Jamadar of the Canal House and a resident of Mandawar, proceeded in the marshes to a point opposite the ghat at Chandi where a mendicant from across the river told them the enemy was encamped at the village of Ajni. Taking him along, they proceeded to a point opposite the ghat at Ajni where the rebels formed ranks. The English were seeing all this from a standing position. The rebels fired across the river at them with muskets, which made the English laugh. The English soon returned to their tents. They had made a little progress along the shore when the rebels fired an artillery piece at them. The shell fell near the English in the sand.

The Second Armed Robbery at Kankhal and Killing of the Rebels

On January 9, 1858 at 12 o'clock Shiv Pershad - the Native Canal Agent gave the alarm that the Nawab's army was again making a crossing. The English officers sounded the alarm while Mr. Drayman took a position on the Daram Canal to make an observation with his telescope. He confirmed that the rebel army was actually crossing. Some had already come over, while others were still walking through the ford on foot. The fools were coming with the aim of establishing themselves at Kankhal. They had flour, field utensils, and sheets and bedding.

In confirming this development, Captain Draymond at once opened the canal gate to release its waters into the Ganges while Mr. Philip left for Kankhal on orders. These shrewd tactics of Captain Draymond were worthy of much praise. In truth, by this cleverness, the enemy caught in the talons of death; a wave of water, cuting like the sharpness of a sword, put an end to them. The leader of the army that made the crossing was Shafi Allah Khan, nephew of Mahmud Khan. Also participating were Abdur Rehman Khan, Abd Allah Khan, and those who had crossed before. Altogether there were about 1,000 men - both foot and horse - and three elephants, on one of which Shafi Allah Khan was mounted. Three pieces of artillery had crossed the blue channel. Out of all about 400 to 450 men, both foot and horse, had crossed at Daram to reach Dajya near Kankhal; the others were still in the water.

In short, these people had not yet reached Kankhal when the English offered resistance and set up their line of retrenchment for their artillery at the large building called Akariwala. The rebels fired a musket volley and their artillery while the Government army waited to fire their canons until the rebels came closer. Scores of men fell and were killed. The rebels turned and fled. The Government army at once went in pursuit of them. Picking off men with their muskets, they killed all those who had crossed at Darem, all those who were still in the middle of the water, and all those who were standing on the shore opposite Daram. In addition, scores of men drowned in the water near Daram, which had been deepened by the release of canal waters. Dajya was retaken from the foe.

Captain Barrigan showed great bravery in this particular battle. Alone on his horse, he came behind Shafi Allah Khan's elephant to fire his musket. Kafayat Allah Khan, who was seated in the back seat of the howdah, was hit and killed. On the second shot, Captain Barrigan's weapon misfired and Shafi Allah Khan got away. The captured material included a great deal of arms, a keg of ammunition that had fallen from an elephant, and the horses of the fallen troopers. The best of sovereign governments had the victory. About 400 men on the rebel side fell in this battle. Hasan Raza Khan was decapitated while lying wounded and bareheaded on the sand at Daram. Not even the cockade of any Government person was hit. The rest of the rebels, who were on the blue channel side, got away with their artillery pieces. Shiv Prasad - Native Canal Agent received a reward of Rs. 100 for the speed with which he had given the alarm.

The Rebels Totter; and Proposal to Exempt Lands from Taxes

The entire rebel army fell into a panic on receiving news of this defeat. At once they gave up their plans to make further crossings. Each of the rebels began to busy himself with looking after the portion of the District that had fallen to his lot when the country was parcelled out. The Delhi Princes and the rebel Telenganas who had thronged to the District began to scatter to Bareilly under some pretext or other. Ahmad Allah Khan thought the time was opportune to win over the general public to his cause. It is well-known that the land grantees had a serious grievance with the Supreme Government because of its seizure of rent-free lands. Ahmad Allah Khan considered that this would give him a chance to gain support in the District. On January 18,1858 he ordered that rent-free lands seized under the British should be released. An order was sent to the tehsildars that the list of grantees in the English period should be submitted as a preliminary to revalidating their exemptions. The order which he sent on this question is reproduced at this point.

"As this country has come under my control and disposal with the aid of God, and by the grace of God may it remain so forever, we wish that those rent-free lands that are seized and assessed for revenue in the English period should be rehabilitated and rent-free for both the lands and their owners. It is also the special wish of this friend of the poor that land-tax should not be levied on such lands, beginning with this current year. You are informed in writing, under authority of today's proceeding, that you are to notify all the grantees that each person should submit to my court in the regular way his petition for exemption, detailed as to number of parcels, assessment, and name of village. On investigation, they will be treated as rent-free lands and released."

Sahib Collector Transferred to Roorkee

A letter No. 850 dated February 15, 1858 from Sahib Secretary to Government was received in Meerut by Sahib Collector Bahadur - District Bijnor. The letter ordered him to leave for Roorkee with his staff, as the mobilization of the Rohilkhand Army was to take place there. Mr. Alexander Shakespeare - Collector and Magistrate, District Bijnor and George Palmer - Joint Magistrate, District Bijnor then came to Bijnor. The other staff and landlords of the District who were across the river reached Roorkee on the different days noted below:

Names	Dates
Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, Bijnor	February 21
Maulvi Qadir Ali - Tahsildar, Nagina	
Kesari Singh, Mahajan Ganj Askin	
Staff of the Collectorate and Criminal Court	February 21 and 22
Chaudhri Budh Singh and Chaudhri Maharaj Singh - Reis of Haldaur	February 22
Gulab Singh - Zamindar, Sherkot	
Umrao Singh, son of Rai Himmat Singh, Reis of Sahanpur	
Chaudhri Nain Singh - Reis of Bijnor	February 23
Pran Sukh and Khushhal Chand - Bishnois of Nagina	
Muhammad Rehmat - Khan Sahib Bahadur Deputy Collector	
Chaudhri Partab Singh - Reis of Tajpur	February 24
Chaudhri Umrao Singh - Reis of Sherkot with Khushhal Singh	February 25
Chaudhri Jodh Singh - Reis of Bijnor	February 26
Mir Kasim Ali - Tahsildar of Chandpur	March 3
Sayyid Turab Ali - Tahsildar of Bijnor	March 18
Pandit Kalka Pershad - Munsif of Nagina	March 22

Mahmud Khan's New Division of the Country and Naming of Heir-apparent

Here, on this side, mobilization of the Ruhilkhand Army was in progress while in Bijnor the fools, regarding themselves as the lords of creation, were busy dividing up the country and making arrangements for an heir-apparent. Mahmud Khan had thought that the division that had already taken place would assure control over land revenue administration at Nagina, Dhampur, and Chandpur for Chazanfar Ali Khan, his son. Contrary to these expectations, however Mareh Khan kept control over these places in his own hands and dispossessed all others. Out of this question developed a new dispute, which the rebels settled by bringing into force a new system of administration at a meeting in Najibabad. The settlement issued to this effect is reproduced in full at this point. Although undated it was later learned, after investigation, that the order was drafted on February 22, 1858, when all the rebels were met in council to resolve the dispute. Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar, who was in the grip of rebels in Nagina, got away with the aid of Maulvi Muhammad Ali and Mir Ashraf Ali - Reis of Nagina. These two were supporters of the Government to the end.

Order at the Council of Amir-al-Daulah Dhia al-Mulk Zawiy-al-qader Nawab Muhammad Mahmud Khan Bahadur Muzzafar Jang, drafted.

It is urgent today that we arrange for the financial and proprietary administration of the District Najibabad, because we have given the powers that were ours to Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan.[1] These powers may be explained by saying that Ahmad Allah Khan has the authority to issue, on his own, orders for arrest and reinstatement in the civil and criminal courts and also in the army. On

this account, there is accordingly fixed for his privy purse the sum of Rs. 8000 -- a sum which is to cover the families of Nawab Mohammed Kalu Khan and the late Nawab Malhu Khan and also his personal servants.

As I regard Ghazanafar Ali Khan as my principal issue and heir-apparent, here is appointed for his essential expense the sum of Rs. 1,000 a month. He will have no part during my lifetime in proprietary or financial matters or in the issuance of orders. There is fixed in the same way a monthly stipend for my own children, mother, and the entire families of the late Nawab Muhammad Sultan Khan and Nawab Murtada Khan, son of the late Nawab Afdal Khan, as detailed hereunder in this order. We wrote a previous agreement dated 19th Shawwal 1273 A.H., concerning the children of the late Nawab Muhammad Sultan Khan and Nawab Murtada Khan, son of the late Nawab Afdal Khan Bahadur. This agreement will remain valid and binding as heretofore.

Two generals of the army were placed under control of my beloved son Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan; and one each was placed under Muhammad Shafi Allah Khan (whose army was subordinate to Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan) and Chaudhri Imam Bakhsh. Since Chaudhri Imam Baksh has performed auspicious service in the center of this country, he is to be treated as my son and assigned a perpetual estate in pargana Sherkot worth Rs. 19,000. Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan ought to obtain the list of villages from the Tahsildar of Sherkot and send it to me so that a proper plan may be put into operation and a grant issued to the aforesaid Chaudhri. If God wills, the entire pargana of Sherkot will be granted to Chaudhri Imam Bakhsh forever, after the country between the two rivers is settled and regulated. There will be no doubt about it; Rs. 600 is to be fixed as his monthly allowance as a general.

Muhammad Yar Khan, previously appointed as Commander-in-Chief, will remain Commander-in-Chief of each of the two armies. The aforementioned Commander-in-Chief holds a higher rank than that of a general. It is stipulated in the army rules that generals on active service should send their daybooks to the Commander-in-Chief each day. It is therefore necessary that his report should continue to be sent in original copy, with the duty-file, to Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan for issuance of his final orders. Minor matters may continue within the competence of the generals on the understanding that the Commander-in-Chief will continue to be informed of the decisions of cases; and he, in accordance with aforementioned rules, should continue to communicate with the generals concerned.

Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan, for his part, should continue to send to my court the monthly register. It is most essential in these circumstances that Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan may write an agreement of service that was undertaken in the time of the late Nawab Najibud-Daulah Bahadur by the late Nawab Sultan Khan Bahadur. He should continue to be bound by this stipulation in the same way. It must be accepted as a matter free from any discrepancy and infringement that the aforesaid will have no claim against myself or my children to accede to the throne.

Details on Allowances and Privy Purse

Muhammad Ghazanafar Ali Khan Bahadur Heir - apparent, Rs. 1000; Mu'azzam Ali Khan Bahadur, Rs. 500; Mother, Rs. 200; daughter, Rs. 100; Begum, Rs. 300; sister, Rs. 70; Nawab Jalal-ud-din Khan Bahadur, Rs. 1000; Nawab Muhammad Azmat Allah Khan Bahadur, Rs. 600; Ahmad Allah Khan, Rs. 1000 (on account of family Rs. 500; on account of government Rs. 500); Muhammad Shafi Allah Khan, Rs. 400 (on account of family Rs. 200; on account of work Rs. 200); Ahmad Yar Khan Commander-in-Chief, Rs. 400 (on account of family Rs. 200; on account of work Rs. 200); Abdur Rehman Khan Sahib, Rs. 200 (on account of family Rs. 150; on account of work Rs. 50); Habib Allah Khan Sahib Army Paymaster, Rs. 200 (on account of family Rs. 150; on account of work Rs. 50); Ibad Allah Khan Sahib, Rs. 200 (on account of family Rs. 150; on account of work Rs. 50); Aziz Allah Khan Sahib, Rs. 200 (on account of family Rs. 150; on account of work Rs. 50); Karim Allah Khan Sahib, Rs. 200 (on account of family Rs. 150; on account of work Rs. 50).

It is ordered, accordingly, that orders with respect to their obedience to this matter should be sent in due course as follows: to the tahsildar [revenue collector] and thanadars [police inspectors] of District Najibabad, to the Commander-in-Chief and to Generals Muhammad Shafi Allah Khan and Chaudhri Imam Baksh. A copy of the order is to be sent to Muhammad Ahmad Allah Khan Bahadur, so that he may obey its contents and broadcast public notices for general information.

Announcement of Release of Lands in the Governments' Time

When Mahmud Khan was informed about the gathering of the army at Roorkee he wanted to incite the people of the District to rally to his side in the coming struggle. With this aim, he issued an order on February 23, 1858 that the taxes on rent-free lands formerly seized by the Government would be reduced by one-half, while the entire assessment would be remitted to those grantees who joined him in crossing the Ganges to oppose the English. It is clear that this announcement made no impression on the District because quite soon - that is on March 4, 1858 - a second announcement on the full remission of land tax was released. In our opinion, even that did not draw the people of this District, to oppose the Government, with the exception of those who were servants of Nawab Mahmud Khan; and even among them many drew back and ran away. We reproduce in full the announcement of March 4, which also contains the first announcement in the following words:

Public notice of the Cutcherry of the Civil Court of District Najibabad at the Council of Muhammed Ahmad Allah Khan Sahib on March 4, 1858.

Proceedings Dated February 23, 1858 at Council of Nawab Mahmud Khan Sahib Bahadur. In summary term it was formerly announced for general information that a remission of half of assessment due on rent-free lands would be made. For remission of the other half of assessment due, it is ordered that those grantees who will join the army across the Ganges to kill the infidels and who are given certificate to confirm their presence will be entitled to this remission.

If they are killed, then their heirs will be exempt. Out of pity for the poverty of the grantees, it was thought proper that all remissions should be full remissions, that a listing should be required from each tahsil of all the grantees with details as to the remitted parcels and the names of the grantees, and that from each grantee a stipulation should be taken in accordance with his status that he would furnish men-at-arms to keep the army when needed by the government. This announcement is made for general information so that those grantees who are to make a claim for remission may, within the space of 15 days, report their presence at my Court, where the army will be. An order for remission of revenue will be issued at that time, if justified, after an investigation that follows the aforesaid sequence.

After this announcement, Ahmad Allah Khan and his advisors posted several detachments in the different places where they thought the Government might cross. There were constant changes between one place and another; but when the Government army crossed into the District, the army present there in various places was distributed as detailed herewith. I cannot say that these details are fully accurate, but they are presented on the basis of the investigation that was possible in the circumstances. (See table, pp. 96-97)

General Jones Reaches Roorkee

Nawab Mahmud Khan had devised many means to block the roads in Bijnor during the interval when the Government army had been mobilized in Roorkee on the Meerut side of the river. Suddenly, on April 13, 1858, General Jones came to Roorkee having been named Commander with the title of Major General. He ordered Major Churchill to go to Kankhal to protect the bridge, which was now ready for use. Major Ismail was ordered to take the big artillery pieces and other war equipment to Nangal Ghat as a diversion, to make the enemy think he intended to cross the river on foot.

Captain Draymond - Chief Engineering Officer and Captain Brownlow - Engineer, crossed the Ganges at Shisham Ghat near village Khankhal on April 4, 1858 at 8 o'clock, with two artillery pieces loaded on elephants and supported by a company each of Europeans and Sikhs. They set up a line of entrenchment but met with no resistance. About 200 men who were stationed there ran away. The boat bridge was fully ready on the 15th. The army marched out of Roorkee on this date to camp at the river near the bridge. On the 16th the entire army remained encamped at the place while the artillery, the Multan Squadron, the Cook's battalion crossed the river.

Major Ismail advanced from the Ganges on this date to bring the enemy under fire and to return again to camp.

Place	Name of Leader	Troopers: Name of Rasaladars	Troopers: No. of Troopers	Foot Soldiers: Commander of Division & Unit	Foot Soldiers: No. of Soldiers	Foot Soldiers: No. of Canons
Ambasut	Ahmad Allah Khan	Atta Allah Khan	55	Ahmad Allah Khan	4,000	6
		Niyaz Allah Khan	70	Shafi Allah Khan	7,000	
		Qalandir Ali Khan	40	(Mareh's followers)	1,000	
		Shaikh Najaf Ali	75			
		Qadir Beg	35			
		Umar Khan	32			
		Kazim Ali Khan	36			
		Shiv Ram Gujer	31			
		(Qadi Inayat Ali Khan's followers; rebel regiment)	80			
		(Marey's followers)	120			
		Baha-ud-Din Khan	134			
		TOTAL	608		5,700	6
Najibabad	Nawab Mahmud Khan	Umdu Khan	100	Mahmud Khan's orderly	1,000	10
	Mustafa Khan	Naju Khan, Jamadar				
	Hafeez Allah Khan					
	Karim Allah Khan					
	Aziz Allah Khan					
		TOTAL	100		1,000	10
Nangal	Azmat Allah Khan		50		1,000	4
	Kalen Khan					
	Abdur Rahman Khan					
		TOTAL	50		1,000	4

Place	Name of Leader	Troopers		Foot Soldiers		No. of Canons
		Name of Rasaladars	No. of Troopers	Commander of Division & Unit	No. of Soldiers	
Daranagar	Mareh Khan	Troops of rebel regiment	60			8
	Qadi Inayat Ali	(Qadi's followers)		(Mareh's followers	4,000	
	Dalil Singh Gujer	(Qadi's followers)	150	(Dalil Singh's followers)	500	
		Marey's troopers	400			
		Dalil Singh's followers	70			
		TOTAL	698		4,500	8
Afdal Garh	Nathu Khan	Nizam Ali Khan	70	(Nathu Khan's followers)	150	2
		Ghulam Muhamad		(Marey Khan's followers	500	
		Khan alias Gamiy Kahn (Naib)				
		TOTAL	70		650	2
		GRAND TOTAL	1,526		12,550	30

CHAPTER VI

Battle of Ambasut and the British Victory

Major Ismail repeated this maneuver on the 17th while the entire army crossed by the bridge near the camping ground (in the order detailed as follows) to march towards Ambasut: Vanguard: one company, 70th Rifle Regiment, proposed for action as special guard; one company 70th Rifle Regiment, to protect the two artillery pieces; Sappers and Miners and a Squadron of Horse. Manin Body: a Squadron of Horse and the Artillery Park, Captain Austin; 70th Rifle Regiment with Punjab Foot Brigade; War Supplies and Treasure with Multan Horse Squadron. Rear: a company of Punjab Foot and a Squadron of Horse. From the main body, a company each of Hindustan's Foot, each supported by half a company of Horse, were posted on each flank.

The road was difficult and the jungle was fairly thick on both sides. When Captain Draymond set up his line of entrenchment, Ahmad Allah Khan was at Daranagar. He marched from there to Ambasut, where he arrived on the 16th with 1,000 soldiers from Mareh's force and some horse. From there on the 17th he marched toward the river. After our army had advanced six miles towards the Paili River, the advance guard became aware that the enemy was nearby. Major Matar very prudently posted a rifle company on a very high place and ordered Horse and Artillery to advance toward village Shampur, where the battle started. General Jones ordered Captain Carradine and his squadron and Captain Austin's Artillery to gallop forward and to form ranks in his mounted order to their advance on the enemy's position.

We said above that hearing of these events in Daranagar, Ahmad Allah Khan had come to Ambasut. In truth his aim was to carry out a night attack, but this proved bootless because the combined Government Artillery, Rifle Regiment, and Multan Squadron let loose such a fire that the enemy became completely dumbfounded. General Jones then quickly gave the order to advance, and Captain Carradine struck the enemy from all directions while shrapnel fire was also continually played on them. The enemy then fled, and except for a few scattered rounds offered no further resistance. In Ambasut itself the enemy gave up a strong position, where they had dug themselves in well, without any effort at fighting.

Hundreds of men threw away their shoes, uniforms, and weapons in this fight. Weapons were scattered everywhere on the road and in the jungle, and there was a corpse lying at every other step along the way. From my position in the rear as a non-combatant, I advanced purposely examining the corpses to see if I might recognize someone. There was no celebrated person among the dead, however, I found, of course, the corpses of two Telengana rebels. I would estimate that enemy casualties were between 300 and 350, while on the Government side there was only one casualty. Captured items included 4 artillery pieces, plus all the ammunition and tents at Ambasut. The enemy

was able to make off toward Najibabad with only two artillery pieces. The army moved on after a short interval to encamp at Bhaguwala. From this point Najibabad and Nangal were both only eight miles away.

After this defeat, Ahmad Allah Khan and Shafi Allah Khan separated to flee in different directions with small parties of men. Many troopers and soldiers ran straight to Najibabad, while others ran to Nangal; most of the men, however, threw away their shoes and weapons and uniforms to hide in the jungle. A little before the battle was begun, Major Ismail made a sally to bewilder and disperse the enemy at Nangal.

Shafi Allah Khan later reached Nangal during his flight, to be followed shortly after by Ahmad Allah Khan. They both came to Najibabad to prepare to abandon the country. The rebel leaders left Najibabad at five o'clock. They took with them two artillery pieces from the field at Ambasut, four pieces from the field at Nangal, and one piece that belonged to Nawab Mahmud Khan's personal staff. Among the persons taken away in this flight were Chaudhri Randhir Singh and Kirani - electric telegraph clerk. The population also left Najibabad and it lay completely deserted.

General Jones received news on this date that the foe had also fled from Nangal without striking their tents. An order was given to Major Ismail that he should take the heavy artillery across the Ganges. The order was carried out; Major Ismail's artillery and the first Punjab Squadron, with their heavy guns, forded the Ganges. Major House joined them at night from Nangal and then returned to his own camp.

Attack on Najibabad and Government Victory

The army marched on the 18th in the same order, by way of Bhaguwala, to Najibabad. Three explosions of artillery fire were heard as the army approached the Malan River. There could be no doubt that the leaders of the rebels were in full flight. The entire city was deserted. Some soldiers were still in the fort of Pather Garh. They abandoned the artillery pieces in order to facilitate their flight.

General Jones gave the order to advance to Brigadier Cook. He, accordingly, moved forward. The city was completely deserted. Some rebels were seen in flight as the army approached the Fort. The troopers spurred their horses and killed about 30 of them. The city and Fort were thus completely conquered and under the control of the Supreme Government. Six artillery pieces, shells, and war materials were taken from the Fort; and two artillery pieces were taken in the city, one at the door of the house of Ahmad Allah Khan, another from the factory where artillery pieces were manufactured. (A third piece was taken outside between the fortress and the city.) The city was looted and given over to destruction by a great fire.

It is very sad, as our leaders did not approve of this conflagration. Perhaps the fire began by chance and there was no way to stop it because the city was empty and water was scarce. However, it was commonly accepted that the Hindus whose houses the Nawab had set on fire took advantage of the opportunity to set the city afire and to ease in this way the bitterness in their own hearts. Probably this is what happened.

Situation at the Fort

It is proper that I should say something about the Fort called Pather Garh. Najib Khan built it in 1755 AD. A battle was fought in 1758. Jhanga Rao Sindia and Malharao Marhatta had looted Najibabad and the fort after they crossed at the nearby Gurmugh ford. Then, in the days of Shah Alam, the fort came under fire and was looted again after the combined attack on Zabita Khan by Nawab Najaf Khan, Scindia, and Takuji Marhatta. Shuja-ud-Daulah controlled the fort in 1774, then the English took control of the entire country in 1801. Amir Khan led a revolt in its environs in 1805; and now in 1858 this disloyal group behaved so as to wipe out the name and honor of the family.

On April 19 information was received that Jalal-ud-din Khan, a brother of Mahmud Khan, and Sa'd Allah Khan, who was formerly munsif at Amroha, were both in Kot Qadir. The Collector and Major Ismail took some troopers along to arrest them. Before they could reach the place, the two gave themselves up to the Multani troopers and were turned over in fetters to a European guard. Their court martial opened on the 20th and, after proof of guilt, General Jones ordered them shot. They were executed near Nurpur on the 23rd.

Rebel Houses Blown Up

It was decided on April 20, 1858 to blow up the residences of Mahmud Khan and Jalal-ud-din Khan, as these were the prime showplaces of their rule; thus, the extreme anger of Government against these disloyal pensioner-traitors might be exhibited to all, and the people be fully warned. The order was carried out on the same day. The audience hall, a very spacious building which had been their seat of Government, was blown up. It was decided on the same day that the company of Sikhs and the artillery park under Major Ismail should stay in the Pathar Garh with the First Punjab Squadron under Captain House. It was also decided that Mr. George Palmer - Joint Magistrate should take charge of the northern part of the District. He took up his station at Najibabad with that force. The Collector ordered me, as Sadr Amin, to remain with the Joint Magistrate and to follow his orders. I obeyed and made myself available to his command.

Rebel Group at Nagina and Release of Randhir Singh; Fight at Nagina and Government Victory

The rebels who fled from Najibabad went to Dhampur by way of Nagina. While enroute, Ahmad Allah Khan released Chaudhri Randhir Singh from his irons. With the help of the zamindars of Puraini, Chaudhri Randhir Singh

reached Najibabad, where he joined the Government force. The inhabitants of Nagina again abandoned their city to run away.

When the rogue Mareh heard in Daranagar the news that the Government army had taken Najibabad, he determined to offer resistance. He came to Nagina, by way of Bijnor, with his entire army. He killed Hardayal Jat in Bijnor and arrested some Hindus, whom he took to Nagina. He dug trenches in the gardens of Nagina and sent troopers to call Ahmad Allah Khan. The men who had dispersed, as well as the rebels who had run away, responded to his call to rally about him. All the rebels thus came together. The list included Mareh Khan, Qadi Inayat Ali, Dalil Singh Gujer, Ahmad Allah Khan, Shafi Allah Khan, Habib Allah Khan, Kalan Khan, and Nathu Khan. They brought all their men and artillery together to Afzal Garh, the Fort at Nagina. Mahmud Khan did not come to Nagina; he stayed instead in Seohara, with an artillery piece and some troopers.

During the night of the 20th in Najibabad the Collector received information, from the spies that he had appointed, about each of the batteries and the number of pieces of the enemy. Mir Ashraf Ali, resident of Nagina, who was present in the environs of Nagina and was numbered among those well-disposed toward the Government, sent a detailed report on the situation to the Collector. It was by these means that the complete situation at Nagina was fully known in Najibabad.

The army marched on Nagina from Najibabad on the 21st. The order of march was as before. When the troops reached the canal embankment about three miles from Nagina, the Sappers and Miners cut down branches of trees and placed them on the bridge that the artillery used to cross over, while the refile regiment went over the embankment itself to cross over. Troopers of the enemy could now be seen. To protect the artillery so that it might move forward, the Sixth Dragoons and two artillery pieces separated to the right, while the Multani troopers went to the left flank; and then the seige artillery moved ahead.

The enemy fire commenced. On the Government side, the artillery also fired. The Sixth Rifle Regiment and the First Punjab Regiment advanced, while the 17th Regiment was in support. The Sikh Infantry advanced to fire a volley. The astonished enemy fled. The Government army began to advance from the right, and Captain Carradine turned to the left with the troopers of the Multan Horse. The enemy was fleeing in full panic, and hundreds were being killed. All the enemy batteries and trenches passed into Government hands. The Sixth Rifles and the First Punjabis took five artillery pieces in a rush at one position. Leading the carabiniers, Captain Butt took two pieces and a jezail after charging at the enemy's left. The Government side took an artillery piece from in front of Mareh's house itself.

The force which had attacked on the right flank reached a nearby garden (known as Ba'in) in their pursuit of the fleeing enemy. Armed men from the city and some absconding rebels were taking refuge there. Among them was Inayat Rasul, notorious rebel bastard (*haram-zadah*), and Jan Mohammad, his servant. Either he or his servant opened fire on some Government troopers who were approaching the garden. This fire gave away their hiding place. After penetrating the garden, the Government troops killed 50 to 60 men on the spot;

60 to 70 men who were captured alive were later executed by musket fire. Inayat Rasul and his servant were killed along with most of the men from the Qadi Quarter who had been hiding in the garden. The women who emerged from hiding were not molested.

Captain Carradine took troopers of the Multan Regiment of Horse to the left, in order to pursue the rebels for four miles. Four guns and six elephants were taken below village Majhera on the road to Dhampur. All the people on the elephants were killed; one of the passengers was saved. He was Mr. Kirani - the Telegraph Inspector, who had been a prisoner of Mahmud Khan. Captain Carradine brought him safe and sound to the army.

The enemy had not been sure that the Government army was going to attack on the day of the actual battle. Therefore, Dalil Singh Gujer, the rebel, was returning to Nagina with a party of horse after having gone to Budhpura to fetch rations and to loot the bankers there. When he reached village Sharif-al-Mulkpur, otherwise known as Qadiwala, some Government troopers set off to pursue him. They took his artillery piece and put his party to flight. In this battle, 15 artillery pieces with complete ammunition were seized, while one newly-made piece that had burst was found shattered on the field.

At the time the battle of Najibabad was about to start, Major House went toward Budhpura from Najibabad with his regiment of Horse; he aimed to block the rebels from escaping in that direction. Is is sad that Dalil Singh Gujer had already slipped by before Major House could reach there. Major House made a search of the jungle, where he did come across Sa'd Allah Khan in headlong flight. As'd Allah Khan had been the Police Inspector at Nagina, but had joined the rebels as their police superintendent. He was killed on the spot, together with another trooper.

Administration of Nagina

As soon as the victory there was assured, the Magistrate and Brigade Major Indra Sen went to Nagina with the soldiers of the Khaki Regiment. They took Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar with them to help administer the city. After blocking the main roads, they managed the city as it ought to be. Three hundred men of the city were arrested, of whom 55 were killed on the spot; the rest were released. The Magistrate sent word to fetch Maulvi Muhammad Ali - Reis of Nagina, a well-wisher of the Government. He was ordered to join the Government's camp; his house was protected from looting, to the extent possible. The rest of the city was looted until nightfall. The Government side experienced only slight losses in this fighting. Regretfully, Lt. Kasteling was killed fighting bravely in this fight.

That night, the Collector and the Magistrate appointed Maulvi Qadir Ali Tahsildar to take over his old responsibility again in Nagina; Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar of Bijnor was ordered to stay in Nagina to take over charge of all matters concerning the tahsil and the police station of the tahsil of Nagina and to hire the number of men he thought needed.[1] The authorities were pleased at the efficient way Sayyid Turab Ali Tahsildar handled this administrative assignment.

Army Marches on Dhampur and Moradabad

On the morning of the 22nd, the army marched out of Nagina to encamp at Dhampur. Zamindars of village Ganga Dharpur reported to Chaudhri Partab Singh that an artillery piece belonging to Mahmud Khan had been abandoned on the road in his flight to Seohara; men were assigned to bring in this piece. It was also discovered at the same time that the entire rebel group of the District had fled toward Moradabad. Since Feroz Shah had gone to Moradabad, the entire army marched there on the 23rd. Mr. Alexander Shakespeare took over responsibility for administering the District at Nurpur, where he separated from the army. General Jones expressed his profound gratitude to our Collector for the help he had given, for his supply of intelligence and rations and his uninterrupted exertions in the campaign. At the same time, General Jones ordered the army encamped at Miranpur to protect the fort at Darangar and to cross the river and enter Bijnor. Accordingly, the army crossed the river on the 25th.

Triumphant Entry in Bijnor

The Collector took over from General Jones all the artillery pieces which had been taken at Nagina. Despite the departure of the entire army for Moradabad, the aforementioned officer, most wisely and bravely, took into his safekeeping all this artillery to enter Bijnor on April 26. The population was dumbfounded to see all this artillery. Mr. George Palmer and Joint Magistrate set up, in very rapid order, the new administration in Najibabad, Kiratpur, Mandawar, etc. He set up police stations, tahsils, and custom posts; and then he returned to Bijnor. I rode with him and opened the court of Sadr Amin on the 26th. On the same day the army at Miranpur, with Captain Sage and troopers of the police squadron, entered Bijnor together; Major House and Major Ismail entered Bijnor with four artillery pieces on the 28th.

April was not allowed to end before Mr. Alexander Shakespeare and Mr. George Palmer had brought peace to the entire District through their great effort and planning. Police stations, custom posts, and tahsils were established at each place. It was a delicate matter to punish the rebels and give satisfaction to the subjects at the same time. These two tasks were brought to completion so expediently that each person felt an awe for the Government grow in his heart with each passing moment; at the same time the subjects continued to gain contentment and encouragement. In this regard, one ought to consider the uniform past experience of the District: whenever the Government has governed firmly, most of the dacoits chose to live in the nearby mountains and extensive jungles. In view of the great numbers of rebels in the District, people thought that many would go to the jungles to set up their dacoit gangs anew. It is entirely due to the skill of our two chiefs that these evils did not occur and that, instead, all who had gone into the jungles soon came out to return to their individual places. In fact, before the end of April, the roads through the jungle were safe; and the markets of Kot Dwar and Lal Dhan witnessed brisk trading. The brilliant foresight of these two officers was largely responsible for this most unusual and speedy re-establishment of administrative order in the District. It is fitting that I should end this book with a prayer for long

life, wealth, and good fortune for these just and prudent leaders.

Daulat-o-fath-o-zafar iqbāl-o-jāh-o-manzalat
Der Tada'af bād da-ān khatam kardam ber du'ā

Prosperity and victory, and lofty fortune may ever continue
To increase for you [the British Government]. With this
prayer I end [this narrative].

NOTES

1. Nagina, the name of the principal town of Bijnor District and also the name of a pargana and tahsil. The tahsil formed the eastern subdivision of the District.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

A man should think about those events which happen in the world and strive to instruct himself from a study of their consequences. The turmoil of violence which happened was only a punishment for the ungratefulness of the Hindustanis. There are many men today who have experienced only English rule in their lives. They not only were born under English rule, but they came to maturity under it. In short, the sights which they saw were exclusively the sights of English rule and not of any other. In Hindustan, people are not at all accustomed to learn about former times from the facts of history, nor from reading books. It is for this reason that you people were not acquainted with the injustice and oppression that used to take place in the days of past rulers. Whether rich or poor, a person in those times could never be at ease. If you had been acquainted with the injustice and excesses of those past days you would have appreciated the value of English rule and given thanks to God. But you were never grateful to God and remained always discontented.

God has punished you Hindustanis for this ungratefulness and allowed you to experience again a sample of the Government of former times, after he suspended English rule for a short time. Oh Inhabitants of District Bijnor! Think of the three events which happened to you, how with just a short suspension of authority, nobody's rule possessed any real power and force. How unjust and barbarous people were to their fellow men in those days, with thousands of homes looted, scores of villages razed by fire, hundreds killed, and thousands robbed and impoverished. There was no one who was powerful enough to insure himself a safe journey from one village to the next.

Think how the Muslims, both in the beginning and at the end, grew strong in the District, and those who were called traditional governors ruled as if it had been only their elders and no one else who had established the District. Take a view of their rule and recollect how the Hindus of the District were ruined, murdered, and plundered. Great landlords of the District were ruined and driven into exile. Scores of innocent Hindus were seized and killed while their property, effects, and houses were all looted. The Muslims, for their part, might well ponder the question of why those Nawabs did not harm them. Even this was only a matter of political expediency, for the wretches were only interested in keeping the Muslims on their side. God forbid if their Government had stabilized itself just a little; then you Muslims would have seen how your co-religionists could be cruel and unjust to you.

In the interval between the time when the Nawabs were in the ascendent [and the government regained control], the Hindus became strong enough to dominate for a few days, so that the Hindu landlords were able to rule the District. You could then taste the Government of Hindus and see what Muslims experienced at

Hindu hands: how many houses looted, how many villages razed, and even your own womenfolk ravaged. Speak truthfully then. The English ruled fifty four years in this District. Did any person, Hindu or Muslim experience any trouble or annoyance then? Can you not recollect what were the disasters brought down on your head by this Hindustani Government in those times of the rebellion? Go to the history books on the rule of the former great emperors to measure the extent of the cruelties and disasters borne by the common folk of those days of organized governments.

Not even one hundred-thousandth part of the ease was present then which fell to your lot in English times. Look how Hindus and Muslims are living with all ease and in peace under English rule. The strong cannot tyrannize the weak now. Each worships God and his Creator according to the requirements of his religion. There is an atmosphere of live-and-let-live. The Hindu builds temples in which to worship; the Muslim builds mosques where prayers are read and the call to prayer is uttered. There is no one to stop and not one to forbid. The merchant pursues his trading affairs, entrusting goods worth thousands to an infirm and aged agent, who is sent thousands of miles to earn a profit; and there is no fear of dacoit or thug. And roads -- how perfectly secure they are; women, adorned with jewelry worth thousands of rupees, may ride at night in horse-drawn carriages from stage to stage, all quite free of anxiety. The owner-cultivator is busy in the fields; no one takes an iota more than the appointed rent for these fields.

In short, this justice, this ease, this liberty, and this non-interference which all exist in this era of British rule -- none of them were experienced before under the rule of anyone else, regardless of stories or boasting to the contrary, or of religion and people. You people did not thank the Lord Almighty for these favors to you. Retribution fell and gave you a pleasure or two to taste with the alteration of Government. The Almighty's wisdom was manifest in all this, for now you may assay the worth of our English Government and appreciate that the shade of its protection on your head is really better than the shadow of the phoenix [the symbol of the Mughal rule]. You may continue to show your sincere gratitude to God.

It has been customary in Hindustan that when any mighty person gained control of some country, the common people accepted the obligation to obey him; everyone became his companion and supporter. When he departed and someone else came, the newcomer was also obeyed by all; try to understand this matter. It is not improper to associate the English Government with this tradition. The common people did not enjoy liberty under former Hindustani Governments; the rulers of the day kept them crushed under all kinds of injustice and violence and improper Government. Their property, in truth, was the property of those tyrants who seized what they wanted and levied fines on whomever they pleased without regard to fault. In direct contrast to our English rule, the common people enjoyed no rights under such Government.

Now the people have obtained freedom, and each person is master of his own thing; he does as he wishes. To the extent that the English Government protects its own right, to the same extent does it also protect the rights of the people. If the lowly Chamar [shoemaker] subject of the Government knows that the Government has unjustly taken even his paisa, he can bring an

action against his own Government to obtain justice. It is as though the people and the authorities were partners in the Government. Under this kind of Government, there is one duty that falls on the subject, that each person must necessarily and properly fulfill. This duty requires that the subject must take the side of his Government. Failure on this account renders one delinquent and guilty. It was incumbent on each subject of Hindustan in that delicate time that he should side with the Government and do his duty by the Government. Such partiality has these meanings: to support and help the Government to the maximum extent possible and to refrain from helping the opponent of the Government, so that the entire common people of Hindustan would become the Government's support.

The enemies of the Government would encounter firm resistance in each place; the Government would, for its part, pay more attention to the condition of its common people, who would thus acquire more freedom and honor. Just as the excellence of a Government may be found in its care of the subjects and its dispensing of justice, so in like measure, the faith of the subject is found in its partiality toward the Government. In this regard, you people were found negligent. On the contrary, even more than negligent, for you have brought dishonor on all your fellow countrymen. Would that you had not done so! For would the evil days at retribution which fell to your lot have then come? Even now you ought to do your duty by the Government, so that you may wash away with the cool water of obedience and sincere assistance to the Government the dishonor which was your lot, and so that you may find the upshot to be good.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Whereas, to repay its three servants for their loyalty during this sedition, the Government proposed that on account of the report of Mr. Alexander Shakespeare (may His Fortune increase!) dated June 5, 1858, Number 56 and June 23, 1858, Number 75; and report of the Commissioner of Rohilkhand dated July 1, 1858; and report of the eminent authorities of the Sadr-Diwani-Adalat dated June 29, 1858, Number 732; and Government Order dated July 12, 1858, Number 2379: Sayyid Ahmad Khan - Sadr Amin, Bijnor, be appointed Sadr-al-Sudur [the Principal Sadr Amin or Subordinate Judge], Moradabad, and in addition receive a pension of Rs. 200 a month for the duration of his life and that of his eldest son; and that Muhamad Rahmat Khan - Deputy Collector, Bijnor, be granted villages in zamindari near Khorja, District Bulandshahr, whose assessment for the land revenue may not be less than Rs. 5,000 a year; and that Mir Turab Ali Tahsildar be promoted to the rank of Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate and be granted villages in zamindari in District Agra whose assessment for land revenue may not be less than Rs. 2500 a year. Approval for these was granted in a letter from Secretary to Government dated July 29, 1858, Number 2703. Now look at the patronage of our patron Government and how it exalted the worth and dignity of those who, in this sedition, showed their loyalty.

Appendix A

THE CAUSE OF THE INDIAN REVOLT

Written by

Sayyid Ahmed Khan Bahadur, C.S.I.

in Urdu, in the Year 1858, and Translated into

English

by

His Two European Friends,

1873

PREFACE

The following pages though written in 1858 have not yet been published. I publish them now as, although many years have elapsed since they were indited, nothing has occurred to cause me to change my opinions. An honest exposition of Native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country with the full concurrence of its inhabitants and not merely by the sword.

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE MERCIFUL,
THE COMPASSIONATE

"Obedience and submission become the servant;
Forgiveness is the attribute of God:
If I should do amiss
Reward me as seemeth right in Thine eyes."

Since I began this essay on the causes of the rebellion in Hindustan, [India] I have been tempted to keep silence on the events of the past, and even to wish my remembrance of them should be blotted out. The proclamation issued by Her Majesty contains such ample redress for every grievance which led up to that revolt, that a man writing on the subject feels his pen fall from his hands. Why enter further into the matter when the cause of all the dissatisfaction has been discovered and provided against? Yet I think that loyal men, and such as really wish well to their government, should not content themselves with reflection: but explain with all possible fidelity, their views on the origin of this rebellion. Although, therefore, the causes of complaint have been met, and the grievances redressed, I think it my duty to record my opinion on the subject. That many well-informed, able, and experienced men have written on the causes of the disturbance, I know; but I am not aware that any native of the country has hitherto been among their number. I venture therefore, publicly to express my opinion.

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF THE REBELLION IN HINDUSTAN?

Definition of "Rebellion": exemplified with instances.

Before answering this question, let us ask what is the meaning of the word, rebellion. To fight against the Government, to aid and assist those who are resisting the authority of Government, to set at nought, and to disobey the orders of Government with a view to resist its authority or with contempt and disrespect to infringe the rights of Government, and disregard its prerogations in any, or in all of these, I take it that rebellion consists.

LET US CLEARLY RECAPITULATE THE ABOVE

1. To fight with, or oppose, the servants, or subjects of Government.

2. To neglect, and set at nought the orders of Government, with a view to resist its authority.

3. To aid and assist or in any way take part with those who are in open opposition to Government.

4. To shew a turbulent disposition, and such as is likely to lead a lawless riot, and disregard of the authority of Government.

5. To swerve at heart from respect and loyalty to the Government; and in times of trouble, to withhold from it an active support.

In that sad year, 1857, there was not one of these forms of rebellion which did not find a place. There are but few men in truth, even amongst the best of us, who may not be connected under the latter head; which, though in appearance of little import, is in reality of no small weight.

Why it is resorted to.

The primary causes of rebellion are, I fancy, everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits, and views, of those by whom the rebellion is brought about.

From this it follows that widely-spread disaffection cannot spring from any solitary, or local cause. Universal rebellion must arise from universal grounds for discontent or from streams deriving from many different sources, but finally merging into one wide-spreading, turbulent water.

The Rebellion of 1857 did not originate from a single cause, but from a complication of causes.

As regards the rebellion of 1857, the fact is, that for a long period, many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time, a vast store of explosive material had been collected. It wanted but the application of a match to light it, and that match was applied by the mutinous army.

The distribution of "Chuppaties", had not league for its object.

In the course of the year 1856, and almost simultaneously with the outbreak, chuppaties were passed from hand to hand in many districts. Cholera happened at that time to be raging in Hindustan. Some have imagined that these chuppaties were used as a kind of Talisman to keep off the cholera, the superstitious Hindustanees [Indians] being in the habit of using such talismans. The fact is that even at the present day we do not know what caused the distribution of those chuppaties. We may be very sure, however, that they could never have been used with the object of spreading a conspiracy. We have, in Hindustan, I know, a custom of passing messages from tongue to tongue in this way; but with these chuppaties there is no such message passed. Had there been, it would have been sure to have leaked out; known as it would have become to every native, to all races and tribes, and to men holding every kind of opinion. The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place and now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no wide-spread conspiracy.

Russia and Persia not chargeable with a league in this matter.

Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. The Hindustanees have no conception of the views of Russia, and it is not probable that they would league themselves with her. Nor can I think that they would ever be likely to receive any help from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Mussulman [Muslims] of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible. To me it seems just as credible that night and day should be merged in one, as that these men should ever act in concert. Surely, if such were the case, it is very strange that during the Russian and Persian wars, Hindustan should have remained completely tranquil. Nor on the other hand is it less strange that while Hindustan was in flames, there should have been in those countries no visible stir whatever. The notion of an understanding existing between these countries must be set aside as preposterous.

The subject of the Proclamation which was found in the tent of a Persian Prince discussed.

The proclamation found in the tent of a Persian Prince is no proof of a secret understanding with Hindustan. It was evidently written with the view of animating and encouraging the Persians. The mutinies are spoken of in order to keep up the spirit of the Persian soldiers. There is nothing whatever to imply the existence of an understanding with the mutineers.

The despatch of a farman by the ex-king of Delhi to the king of Persia not improbable, but not the origin of the rebellion.

I see nothing strange in the fact, if fact it were, of the ex-king of Delhi having written a farman to the Persians. Such an imbecile was the ex-king that had one assured him that the angels of Heaven were his slaves, he would have welcomed the assurance, and would have caused half a dozen farmans to be prepared immediately. The ex-king had a fixed idea that he could transform himself into a fly or gnat, and that he could in this guise convey himself to other countries, and learn what was going on there. Seriously, he firmly believed that he possessed the power of transformation. He was in the habit of asking his courtiers in Durbar [Court] if it were not so, and his courtiers were not the men to undeceive him. Is there anything wonderful in the fact of such a dotard writing a farman to any person, or at any man's instigation? Surely not: But it is perfectly incredible that such a farman should have formed the basis of any league. Strange that such wide conspiracies should have been for so long hatching, and that none of our rulers should have been aware of them! After the revolt had broken out, no volunteer, whether soldier or civilian, ever alluded to such a thing; and yet had any league existed, there could then have no longer been any reason for concealing it.

The annexation of Oudh not the cause of the general rise.

Nor do I believe that the annexation of Oudh was the cause of this rebellion. No doubt, men of all classes were irritated at its annexation, all agreed in thinking that the Honourable East India Company had acted in defiance of its treaties, and in contempt of the word which it had pledged. The people of Oudh felt on this occasion much as other men have felt whose countries have been annexed by the East India Company. Of this, however, more hereafter. But what I mean here is that the men who would be the most irritated and dismayed at such a step, were the noblemen, and the independent princes of Hindustan. These all saw that sooner or later such a policy must lead to the overthrow of their own independence and confiscation of their own lands. Nevertheless, we find that there was no one of the great landed princes who espoused the rebel cause. The mutineers were for the most part men who had nothing to lose, the governed not the governing class. To cite in contradiction of what I say the cases of the Nawab of Jhujjar, and the Rajah of Bulubgurh, and other such petty feudatories would shew little else than ignorance of the status of the various Hindustanee chiefs.

The national league not framed with the view of overthrowing the government of strangers.

So too we must reject the idea that the natives of this country rose of one accord to throw off the yoke of foreigners, whom they hated and detested. The English did not obtain the Government of Hindustan in a day. By little they have spread their authority. They date its commencement from the year 1757: the year in which Siraj-ud-dowlah was overthrown on the plains of Plassy, from that day until a comparatively recent date, all men, high or low, have remained well-affected to the English Government. They have long been accustomed to hear of the good faith, the clemency, the consideration, and the leniency of the Government, of the noble qualities of the high moral character of those by whom it has been conducted. Hindoo and Mussulman, all who have been under English rule have been well content to sit under its shadow. Foreign princes have relied implicitly upon the English: A promise given, or an agreement made by them has been looked upon as graven on stone. The Government is twice as strong in these times as it was in the earlier years of the century; while the native princes, the subahdars and the nobles do not retain one tenth of the power they then had. The Government was continually engaged at that period in wars with every race and religion in India, with Hindu and Mussulman alike. Its career was one long victory. All natives of the country saw that some day the English sway would extend itself over the whole of Hindustan and that all races, religions alike must sooner or later be held within the English grasp. And yet during those early years we hear of no attempt at revolt, no striving against English authority. Find if you can any mention of such in the History of India. Had a national hatred been the cause of this rebellion, should we not have found it betraying itself in the former times; in times, as I have said, when the relative power of the nations gave far greater facilities for such an outbreak? During the wars which commenced in 1839, there was not a single attempt at a revolt in Hindustan, and yet for a hundred years Hindustan had been governed by the race from which sprang the princes against whom those wars were conducted. It was to those princes that the Mussulman owed their very preference and influence in India. How then can it be supposed that the present revolt originated from hatred on the part of the Mussulman against those who had wrenched the kingdom from them?

The position of Ex-king of Delhi well-known within the town, and its environs, but overrated in the district Provinces.

No one ever had the slightest hope that the king of Delhi would revive the Empire. The eccentricities and follies of the King and of his house had lost him all respect in the eyes of the world. It is no doubt true that people outside the walls of Delhi, who were less well informed as to his conditions, his mode of life, and his general incompetence, did look on him as emperor. The Hon'ble East India Company, they believed to be his viceroy. But those who lived in and about Delhi held him in no esteem whatever. Hence it happened that when the king was virtually deposed, no Hindustanee felt the slightest regret.

Declaration of Lord Amherst in 1827 to the effect that the sovereignty of India belongs to the British Government.

It will be remembered that in the year 1827 Lord Amherst openly declared that our Government was no longer in any way subservient to the house of Timour [Mughal emperors], and that the East India Company was *de facto* the sole sovereign power in Hindustan, and that when this declaration was made, the natives expressed no dissatisfaction. The only men probably who felt any chagrin were the relatives and personal attendants of the King.

The Muhammadans did not contemplate Jehad against the Christians prior to the outbreak.

There are again grounds for supposing that the Muhammadans [Muslims] had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise, or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English Government did not interfere with the Muhammadans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that the idea of a religious crusade should have been entertained. Thirty-five years ago a celebrated Moulvie Muhammad Ismael [died in 1830] by name preached a religious crusade in Hindustan and called upon all men to aid him in carrying it out. But on that occasion he distinctly stated that natives of Hindustan, subject to the British Government could not conscientiously take part in a religious war within the limits of Hindustan. Accordingly while thoudands of Jehadees [Muslim fighters] congregated in every district of Hindustan, there was no sort of disturbance raised within British Territory. Going northwards, these men crossed the Punjab frontier, and waged war in those parts of the country. And even if we should imitate the know-nothings in the various districts and call the late disturbances a religious war, it is very certain that no preparations were made for it before the tenth of May, 1857.

None of the acts committed by the Muhammadan rebels during the disturbances were in accordance with the tenets of the Muhammadan religion.

It must be remembered that the men who in those times raised so loud the cry of "Jehad" were vagabonds and ill-conditioned men. They were wine drinkers and men who spent their time in debauchery and dissipation. They were men floating without profession or occupation on the surface of society. Can such fellows as these be called leaders of a religious war? It was very little that

they thought about religion. Their only object was to plunder Government treasuries and to steal Government property. To be faithless to one's salt is to disregard the first principle of our religion. To slaughter innocents, especially women, children and old men would be accounted abominable. Can it possibly be imagined then, that this outbreak was of the nature of a religious war? The fact seems to be that some scoundrels, prompted by greed and hoping to gain their end by deceiving fools and increasing their own numbers, gave the disturbances the title of a religious war. The project was worthy of the men, but there was no crusade.

The Futwah of Jehad printed at Delhi was a counterfeit one.

I know that the futwah which was printed at Delhi is looked upon as a convincing proof that the rebellion was in fact a crusade. I have gone into the question, and I find very strong proof to the effect that this futwah was a forgery. I am told that when the mutineers arrived at Delhi from Meerut, some persons expressed a wish for a futwah as to the expediency of a religious war. Every opinion given was against such a step. I have only seen a copy of the futwah I allude to. The original has been lost and it is impossible to say how far the copy may be authentic. But I may mention that on the arrival of the Bareilly mutineers at Delhi, a second futwah was published with the object of instigating a religious war, and there is not the smallest doubt that this second futwah was a forgery. The man who had it printed, and who was a turbulent fellow, and a noted scoundrel, attached certain names to it in order to deceive the public, and gained for it thus a degree of credit. He stamped it, by the way, with the seal of a man who had died before the commencement of the mutinees. It may be added that some of the Bareilly mutineers, and their rebel brethren caused several seals to be forged. This fact has become a matter of notoriety.

A large number of the moulvies who considered the King of Delhi a violator of the law left off praying in the Royal Mosque.

Many of the Delhi moulvies and their followers considered the King little better than a heretic. They were of the opinion that it was not right to pray in the Mosques to which he was in the habit of going and which were under his patronage. These men never read prayers in the Jumma Musjid. Long before the mutiny broke out, they had published a futwah on the point. Can it be thought that men holding such views would give a futwah in favour of a religious war and of placing the King at the head of it? Among the men whose seals were affixed to the futwah above alluded to, were many who have sheltered Christians, and guarded their honour and their lives. Of these men not one took an active part in the rebellion, or shewed himself in the ranks of the rebel army. If they in reality held the opinions which are usually ascribed to them, why did they act in this way? It is my firm belief that the Muhammadans never dreamed of forming a combination in order to carry on a religious war against the Christians. It was ignorant and disaffected men who raised the cry of "Jehad" and "Haidree". Presently I shall speak of the causes of discontent among the Muhammadans on the score of religion. I will

then show how far such discontent really did exist. That the Muhammadans were, in every respect more dissatisfied than the Hindus, there is little doubt. Hence it was that, in many districts the greater proportions of rebels were found in their ranks. Nevertheless, in districts where the Hindus rebelled, matters were carried to as great extremes.

The Bengal army was not previously in league for an outbreak.

A conspiracy, or concerted league never existed in the army. It is well known that after the mutiny had broken out, no Sepoy [Indian soldier] ever mentioned such a thing. True that after the affair at Barrackpore, and especially in the Punjab, on the introduction of the new drill, men of several regiments used to meet together and declare they would never allow the use of the new cartridges. But they formed no plan whatever; on the contrary, they believed that Government would not insist on carrying out the order. The order was not carried out. But after the 2nd of May, when it had been withdrawn, the mutinies had broken out, and could no longer be checked by such means; a flame had been lit, that was not to be thus quenched.

Nor was there any league between the army and the ex-king though it is not improbable that some Sepoy or non-commissioned officer may have been his disciple.

So too there never existed a previous understanding between the rebel army and the ex-king. The idea is entirely without foundation. No one looked upon the King as sovereign or as consecrate; men used to flatter him to his face, and laugh at him behind his back. The people clung to him from no feeling of loyalty, but with a view to their own advantage. Very likely privates, and Subahdars in some of the regiments were in communication with him. This however does not prove that there was any general understanding between him and the mutineers. The rebel army collected at Delhi, it is true, but after it had thrown off its allegiance to the Government, there was no one but the King of Delhi round whom it could rally. The fact of their gathering at Delhi is in itself no proof of a conspiracy. It was impolitic and unwise of Government to keep up the semblance of a King at Delhi. Lord Ellenborough's views on this point were sound and it is a pity they were not put more thoroughly into practice. The King of Delhi was a spark from a furnace which, wafted by the wind, eventually set all Hindustan in a blaze.

The non-admission of a native as a member into the Legislative Council was the original cause of the outbreak.

I believe that this rebellion owes its origin to one great cause to which all others are but secondary branches so to speak of the parent stem. I do not found my belief on any speculative grounds or any favorite theory of my own. For centuries, many able and thoughtful men have concurred in the views I am about to express. All treatises and works on the principles of Government bear me out. All histories either of the one of the other hemisphere are witnesses to the soundness of my opinions.

Most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government: indeed is essential to its stability that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of the dangers before they are burst upon and destroy us.

A needle may dam the gushing rivulet. An elephant must turn aside from the swollen torrent. This voice however can never be heard and this security never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they were here in the position of foreigners, that they differed from the natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and thought. The security of a government, it will be remembered, is founded on its careful observance of their rights and privileges. Look back at the pages of history, the record of the experience of the past, and you will not fail to be struck with the differences and distinctions that have existed between the manners, the opinions, and customs of the various races of men: differences which have been acquired by no written rule or prescribed by any printed form. They are in every instance the inheritance of any peculiar race. It is to these differences of thought and customs that the laws must be adopted, for they cannot be adopted to the laws. In their due observance lies the welfare and security of Government. From the beginning of things, to disregard these has been to disregard the nature of men, and neglect of them has ever been the cause of universal discontent. Can we forget the confusion that ensued on the acceptance of the Dewannee by the British Government in the year 1760, a confusion brought about by the ignorance then prevailing? If one wishes to recall those times, he can read of them in Marshman's History. Who on the contrary, does not remember the prosperity of Bengal under the rule of Lord Hasting? I attribute it to the knowledge of its peculiarities and the acquaintance with the vernacular which obtained in those days.

To form a Parliament from the natives of India is of course out of the question. It is not only impossible, but useless. There is no reason however why the natives of this country should be excluded from the Legislative Council, and here it is that you come upon the one great root of all this evil. Here is the origin of all the troubles that have befallen Hindustan. From causes connected with this matter sprang all the evil that has lately happened.

I do not say that Government has made no attempt to acquaint itself with the characteristics, and economy of the country. I am well aware that serious efforts have been made. The regulations of Government, the circulars of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Thomanson's directions to revenue officers are sufficient proof of this. But I do say that Government has not succeeded in acquainting itself with the daily habits, the modes of thought and of life, and likes, and dislikes, and prejudices of the people. Our Government never knew what troubles each succeeding sun might bring with it to its subjects, or what sorrow might fall upon them with the night. Yet day by day troubles and anxieties were increasing upon them. Secret causes of complaint were rankling in their breasts. Little by little a cloud was gathering strength, which finally burst over us in all its violence.

The non-admission of such a member proved a hinderance to the development of the good feeling of the Indian subject towards the Government.

The evils which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear as it ought to have heard the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes. But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of Government. They misapprehended every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in the framing of it, and hence no means of judging of its spirit. At length the Hindustanees fell into the habit of thinking that all the laws were passed with a view to degrade and ruin them, and to deprive them and their fellows of their religion. Such acts as were repugnant to native customs and character, whether in themselves good or bad, increased this suspicion. At last came the time when all men looked upon the English Government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire. They learned to think that if today they escaped from the hands of Government, tomorrow they would fall into them; or that even if they escaped on the morrow, the third day would see their ruin. There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas.

When the governors and the governed occupy relatively such a position as this, what hope is there of loyalty or of good-will? Granted that the intentions of Government were excellent, there was no man who could convince the people of it; no one was at hand to correct the errors which they had adopted. And why? Because there was not one of their own member among the members of the Legislative Council. Had there been, these evils that had happened to us, would have been averted. The more one thinks the matter over, the more one is convinced that here we have the one great cause which was the origin of all smaller causes of dissatisfaction.

I see no force in the argument that the Government has allowed a perfectly free press, forbidding it merely to print abusive or seditious language or language of an inflammatory nature. Nor was it of any use to circulate laws before they were finally passed so that every man should have an opportunity of speaking his mind out about them. It was not by such measures as these that evils such as I am writing about could be remedied. Far from it, these half measures were useless.

I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council; or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are the knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure. As regards the details of the question, I have elsewhere discussed them, and those who wish to enter into it can read what I have said.

The outbreak of rebellion proceeded from the following five causes.

This mistake of the Government then made itself felt in every matter connected with Hindustan. All causes of rebellion, however various, can be traced to this one. And if we look at these various causes separately and distinctly we shall, I think, find that they may be classed under five heads.

1. Ignorance on the part of the people: by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.

2. The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established custom and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.

3. Ignorance on the part of the Government of the conditions of the people; of their modes of thought and of life; and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged.

4. The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good Government of Hindustan.

5. The bad management, and disaffection of the army.

I shall now proceed to consider these five heads, and under them may be classed their sub-heads, distinctly, and in detail.

CAUSE I
IGNORANCE ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLE, THAT IS, MISAPPREHENSION OF THE INTENTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

I would here say that I do not wish it to be understood that the views of Government were in reality such as have been imputed to them. I only wish to say that they were misconstrued by people, and that this misconstruction hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hindustan in the Legislative Council, the people would never have fallen into such errors.

Interference in matters of religion.

There is not the smallest doubt that all men whether ignorant, or well-informed, whether high or low, felt a firm conviction that the English Government was bent on interfering with their religion and with their old established customs. They believed that Government intended to force the Christian religion and foreign customs upon Hindu and Mussulman alike. This was the chief among the secondary causes of the rebellion. It was believed by every one that Government was slowly but surely developing its plans. Every step it was thought was being taken with the most extreme caution. Hence it is that men said that Government does not speak of proselytising Muhammadans summarily, and by force; but it will throw off the veil as it feels itself stronger, and will act with greater decision.

Events, as I shall presently show, increased and strengthened this conviction. Men never thought that our Government would openly compel them to change their religion. The idea was that indirect steps will be taken, such as doing away with the study of Arabic and Sanscrit, and reducing the people to ignorance and poverty. In this way, it was supposed, the people would be deprived of a knowledge of the principles of their own faith, and their attention turned to books containing the principles of the Christian creed. It was supposed that Government would then work on the cupidity, and poverty of its subjects and on conditions of their abjuring their faith, and offer them employment in its own services.

Secundra Orphan Asylum

In the year 1837, the year of the great drought, the step which was taken of rearing orphans in the principles of the Christian faith, was looked upon throughout the N.W.P. as an example of the schemes of government. It was supposed that when Government had similarly brought all Hindustanees to a pitch of ignorance and poverty, it would convert them to its own creed. The Hindustanees used, as I have said, to feel an increasing dismay at the annexation of each successive country of the Hon'ble East India Company. But I assert without fear of contradiction that this feeling arose solely from the belief in their minds, that as the power of Government increased, and there no longer remained foreign enemies to fight against, or internal troubles to quell, it would turn its attention inwards, and carry out a more systematic interference with their creed and religious observances.

Religious discussion being carried to a great height during the present time.

In the first days of British rule in Hindustan, there used to be less talk than at present on the subject of religion. Discussion on this point has been increasing day by day and has now reached its climax. I do not say that Government has interfered in these matters; but it has been the general opinion that all that was done was according to the instructions and hints of Government, and was by no means displeasing to it. It has been commonly believed that Government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost. It has been supposed that Government, and the officers of Government throughout the country were in the habit of giving large sums of money to these missionaries with the intention of covering their expenses, enabling them to distribute books, and in every way aiding them.

The Covenanted officers assumed the Missionary functions.

Many convenanted officers, and many military men have been in the habit of talking to their subordinates about religion; some of them would bid their servants come to their houses, and listen to the preaching of missionaries and thus it happened that in the course of time no man felt sure that his creed would last even his own life time.

Preaching of the Gospel by the Missionaries.

The missionaries moreover introduced a new system of preaching. They took to printing and circulating controversial tracts, in the shape of questions and answers. Men of a different faith were spoken of in a most offensive and irritating way. In Hindustan these things have always been managed very differently. Every man in this country, preaches and explains his views in his own Mosque, or his own house. If any one wishes to listen to him, he can go to the Mosque, or house, and hear what he has to say. But the missionaries' plan was exactly the opposite. They used to attend the places of public resort, markets for instance, and fairs where men of different creeds were collected together, and used to begin preaching them. It was only fear of the authorities that no one bid them off about their business. In some districts the missionaries were actually attended by policemen from the station. And then the missionaries did not confine themselves to explaining the doctrines of their books. In violent and unmeasured language they attacked the followers and the holy places of other creeds: annoying, and insulting beyond expression the feelings of those who listened to them. In this way too the seeds of discontent were sown deep in the hearts of the people.

The establishment of Missionary schools and the covenanted officers attending examinations of them.

Then missionary schools were started in which the principles of the Christian faith were taught. Men said it was by the order of government. In some districts covenanted officers of high position and of great influence used to visit the schools and encourage the people to attend them; examinations were held in books which taught the tenets of Christian religion. Lads who attended the schools used to be asked such questions as the following: "Who is your God?" "Who is your Redeemer?" and these questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to the Christian belief; prizes being given accordingly. This again added to the prevailing ill-will. But it may be said with some justice, "If the people were not satisfied with this course of education, why did they let their children go to the schools?" The fact is that we have here no question of like or dislike. On the contrary we must account for this by the painfully degraded and ignorant state of the people. They believed that if their children were entered at the schools, they might have employment given them by Government, and be enabled to find some means of subsistence. Hence they put up with the state of affairs in reality disagreeable enough to them. But it must not be thought that they ever liked those schools.

Village Schools.

When the village schools were established, the general belief was that they were instituted solely with the view of teaching the doctrines of Jesus. The Pergunnah visitors, and Deputy Inspectors, who used to go from village to village and town to town advising the people to enter their children at these schools, got the nickname of native clergyman. When the Pergunnah visitor, or Deputy Inspector entered any village the people used to say that the native clergyman had come. Their sole idea was that these were Christian schools, established with the view of converting them. Well-informed men, although they did not credit this, saw nevertheless that in

these schools nothing but Urdu was taught. They were afraid that boys while reading only Urdu would forget the tenets of their own faith, and that they would thus drift into Christianity. They believed also that Government wished such books as bore upon the doctrines of the former religions of Hindustan, to fall into entire disuse. This was to be done with the view of ensuring the spread of Christianity. In many of the Eastern districts of Hindustan where these schools were established, boys were entered at them by compulsion, and by compulsion only. It was currently reported that all this was in pursuance of the orders of Government.

Introduction of female education.

There was at the same time great deal of talk in Hindustan about female education. Men believed it to be the wish of Government, that girls should attend, and be taught at these schools, and leave off the habit of sitting veiled. Anything more obnoxious than this to the feelings of the Hindustanees cannot be conceived. In some districts the practice was actually introduced. The Pergunnah visitors and Deputy Inspectors hoped by enforcing the attendance of girls, to gain credit with their superior. In every way, therefore, right or wrong they tried to carry out their object. Here then was another cause of discontent among the people, through which they became confirmed in error.

Alterations in the system of education in large colleges.

The large colleges, established in the towns, were from the first a source of suspicion. At the time of their establishment Shah Abdul Aziz, a celebrated moulvie of Hindustan, was alive. The Muhammandans asked him for a futwah on the subject. His answer was distinct. "Go," he said, "Read in the English colleges, and learn the English tongue. The laws of Islam admit it". Acting on this opinion the Muhammadans did not hesitate to enter these Colleges. At that time, however, the Colleges were conducted on a principle widely different from that which is at present adopted. Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and English were equally taught. The "Fickah," [Fiqh i.e. Islamic juris prudence] "Hadees" [Hadith i.e. The Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad] and other such books were read. Examinations were held in the "Fickah" for which certificates of proficiency were given. Religion was not in any way thrust forward. The professors were men of worth and weight: all scholars of great reputation, wide knowledge and sound moral character. But all this has been changed. The study of Arabic is little thought of. The "Fickah" and "Hadees" were suddenly dropped. Persian is almost entirely neglected. Books and methods of teaching have been changed. But the study of Urdu and of English has greatly increased. All this has tended to strengthen the idea that Government wished to wipe out the religions which are found in Hindustan. The professors are no longer men of weight or acquirements. Students at the college, in whom people have not gained confidence, have for some time past been appointed professors. And hence it is that throughout the country these colleges have fallen into disrepute.

Government proclamation on the subject of admitting Government College English students to appointments in preference to other candidates.

Such was the state of the village schools and Colleges. Such was the general feeling of distrust throughout the country as to the view of Government about conversion, when a proclamation was issued by Government to the following effect. Whoever had studied and passed an examination in certain sciences, and the English language, and had received a certificate to the effect, was to be considered as having prior claims for employment in the public service. Petty appointments were granted on the production of ceritificates from the Deputy Inspectors: the very man who had hitherto been nicknamed native clergyman. This came as a blow to every one. Suspicion increased tenfold. The rumour again arose that Government wished to deprive the Hindustanees of all means of subsistance and by improverishing them gradually, to substitute its own religion in the place of theirs.

Introduction of the messing system in the jails.

It was at this time, that the practice was introduced in some district jails, of making prisoners eat food which had been cooked by a single man; such a measure as this was fatal to the caste of Hindus. To the Muhammadan creed it was not actually obnoxious, nevertheless Muhammadans were annoyed at its introduction. They looked upon it as another proof that Government wished to meddle with all creeds alike. They saw in it but another part of one huge plan.

Circulation of Mr. E. Edmond's letters from Calcutta.

Whilst all these discontents were at their height, there suddenly appeared in 1855, a letter by Mr. Edmond [see Appendix I] which was circulated publicly from Calcutta, and a copy of which was sent to all the principle officials of Government. It was to the effect that all Hindustan was now under one rule, that the telegraph had so connected all parts of the country that they were as one; that the rail road had brought them so near that all towns were as one; the time had clearly come when there should be but one faith; it was right therefore, that we should all become Christians. It is no metaphor to say that men were blinded with fear at the receipt of this circular. The ground seemed at last to have given way beneath their feet. They cried out that the long-expected hour had indeed arrived. The servants of government were first to be made Christians, then the mass of the people. This circular, it was said, was written by order of Government. Natives in government employ were asked whether they had received the circular, and this was in fact to taunt them with having turned Christian, on the condition of getting government employ. The native officials were so ashamed of the circular that those to whom it had been sent used to hide the fact, from fear of being ridiculed and abused, and would deny having ever received it. They used to say, "It has not been sent to us": and the answer used to be, "Well, well: be sure that it will come. Are you not in government employ?"

Looking into the subject, one feels that this unhappy circular set the finishing stroke to the public suspicion and ill-will. And yet against this crisis there was no one to find that there should have been something very

like conspiracy and more or less disturbance about this time. This was in fact the case. But the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal soon heard of it, and issued a Proclamation which soothed men's minds and put suspicion to sleep for a time. It was, however, but a temporary relief; men still thought that Government had given up its projects only for a while, but that when it found itself a little stronger, it would resume them.

Interference in religious matters more repugnant to the feelings of the Muhammadans.

All these causes rendered the Muhammadans more uneasy than the Hindus. The reason of this, I take to be that the Hindu faith consists rather in the practice of long established rites and forms, than in the study of doctrine. The Hindus recognise no canons and laws, or appeals to the heart and conscience. Their creed does not admit of such things. Hence it is that they are exceedingly indifferent about speculative doctrine. They insist upon nothing, excepting the strict observance of their old rites, and of their modes of eating and drinking. It does not annoy or grieve them to see such rites and observances, as they consider necessary, disregarded by other men. Muhammadans, on the contrary, looking upon the tenets of their creed as necessary to salvation and upon the neglect of them as damnation, are thoroughly well-grounded in them. They regard their religious precepts as the ordinances of God. Hence it was that the Muhammadans were more uneasy than the Hindus, and that, as might have been expected, they formed the majority of the rebels. It is wrong and impolitic on the part of a government to interfere in any way with the faith of its subjects. But of all courses, the most unjust is to hinder the study of the tenets of their religion: and especially of such as is heartily believed by its votaries to be true. But be this as it may, all I wish to prove is that, whatever the intentions of Government might be, matters were so managed that the people were left to stumble on in error, suspicion, and ill-will.

CAUSE II
THE PASSING OF SUCH LAWS, REGULATIONS AND FORMS OF PROCEDURE AS WERE INCONSISTENT WITH THE ESTABLISHED CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES OF HINDUSTAN: AND THE INTRODUCTION OF SUCH AS WERE IN THEMSELVES OBJECTIONABLE

Promulgation of objectionable laws.

The Legislative Council is not free from the charge of having meddled with religious matters. Act XXI of 1850 was without a doubt prejudicial to the professors of other creeds. This act was thought to have been passed with the view of converting men into Christianity. The Hindu faith, as is known, allows of no converts. To the Hindus, therefore, this act brought no benefit. If a man becomes a convert to Islam, he is forbidden by the Laws of his new religion from inheriting property left to him by men of another creed. No Muhammadan convert, therefore, could profit by this act. To such men, however, as became Christians it offered great advantages. Hence this act was said not only to interfere with people's religion but to hold out strong inducements to convert.

Act XV of 1856, again relating to Hindu widows, was opposed to practice of the Hindu religion. There is, I grant, much controversy on this point, and there always has been; but it is none the less a fact that the Hindus, who cling particularly to the forms and customs of their faith, were greatly annoyed at this Act. They thought that its provisions were little less than an insult to them. The suspicion arose that this act was intended to free widows from all restraint and to give them the power of doing whatever they might think proper. So, too, it would be impossible to overstate the disgust which was felt by all Hindustanees at the licence given to women in criminal actions, even married women were recognized in the Criminal Courts as competent. To give a married woman such a liberty was simply to deprive her guardian of all power over her: and not only this, but the measure was altogether opposed to the spirit of the existing religions. The remedy provided for such cases by a suit in the Civil Courts was little better than useless. Cases of this kind which, according to our belief and practice should have met with prompt attention, were so delayed and deferred that the remedy was nearly as bad as the grievance. The decrees of the Civil Court for the restoration of married women are very often waste paper. It often happens that a woman has borne two or three children to the man who abducted her, before her husband can find a trace of her whereabouts.

Promulgation of certain acts in cases wherein the parties are of one religion.

Moreover, certain acts and laws were passed which led to decisions in the Civil Courts opposed to the religious practice of litigants, even where they happened to be of the same faith. I would not have the Government show a partiality for any creed whatever. When parties to a suit are of different creeds, Government should be careful, provided due respect is paid to the religious practice of the litigants, to ensure equal justice. When, however, the litigants are of the same creed, it is but right that decrees affecting rights, issued by the Courts, should be in accordance with the religious practice of the parties.

The resumption of Mafis [*revenue free land*].

The laws providing for the resumption of revenue free lands, the last of which was regulation VI of 1819, were most obnoxious. Nothing disgusted the natives of this country more with the English Government than this resumption of revenue free lands. Sir T. Munro and the Duke of Wellington said truly enough that to resume lands granted revenue free was to let whole people against us, and to make beggars of the masses. I cannot describe the odium and the hatred which this act brought on Government, or the extent to which it beggared the people. Many lands which had been held revenue free for centuries were suddenly resumed on the flimsiest pretexts. The people said that Government not only did nothing for them itself, but undid what former governments had done. This measure altogether lost for the government the confidence of its subjects.

It may be said that if revenue free lands were not resumed, some other source of income would have to be sought or some new tax imposed to meet the charges of Government: so that the people would have still to bear the burden. This may be so: but the people do not see it. It is a remarkable fact that, wherever the rebels have issued proclamations to deceive and reduce the people, they have only mentioned two things: the one, interference in matters of religion; the other, the resumption of revenue free lands. It seems fair to infer that these were the two chief causes of the public discontent. More especially was it the case with the Muhammadans, on whom this grievance fell far more heavily than on the Hindus.

Public sales of Zamindari rights.

Under former rules, and in old times, the system of buying and selling rights in landed property, of mortgage, and of transfer by gift, undoubtedly prevailed. But there was little of it, and what little there was was due to the consent and wishes of the parties concerned. To arbitrarily compel the sale of these rights in satisfaction of the arrears of revenue, or of debt, was a practice in those days unknown. Hindustanee landlords are particularly attached to this kind of property. The loss of their estates has been to them a source of the deepest annoyance. A landed estate in Hindustan is very like a little kingdom. It has always been the practice to elect one man as the head over all. By him, matters requiring discussion are brought forward and every shareholder, in proportion to his holding, has the power of speaking out his mind on the point. The cultivators and the Chowdries of the villages attend on such occasion and say whatever they have to say. Any matter of unusual importance is settled by the headmen of some of the larger villages. You have here, in fact in great perfection, a miniature Kingdom and Parliament. These landlords were as indignant at the loss of their estate as a king at the loss of his empire. But the Government acted in utter disregard of the state of things formerly existing.

Dating from the commencement of English rule to the present time, there is probably not a single village in which there have not been more or less transfers. In the first days of British rule, sales of landed property were so numerous that the whole country was turned upside down. To remedy this, Government passed the law which is called Regulation I of 1821, and appointed a Commission of Enquiry. This Commission, however, gave rise to a thousand other evils. After all, the affair was not brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and at last, the Commission was abolished. I shall not here enter into the question as to how Government could ensure the payment of the land revenue, if it gave up the practice of sales or its right to enforce sales as arising from the fact of the land being pledged for the payment of revenue. All that I now say is that, whether this system of sales was the result of necessity or of ignorance, it has at all events had a hand in bringing on the rebellion. If anyone wishes to see what my views are on this question, he will find them in my work on the Government of Hindustan.

I will only mention here that it is open to grave doubt whether the land pledged for the payment of revenue. The claim of the Government lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land, not upon the land itself.

So, too, the practice of sale in satisfaction of debt has been most objectionable. Bankers and money-lenders have availed themselves of it to advance money to landlords, resorting to every kind of trickery and roguery to rob them of their property. They have instituted suits without end in the Civil Courts, some fraudulent, some correct enough. The consequence has been that they have very generally ousted the old landlords and insinuated themselves into their properties. Troubles of this kind have ruined landlords throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Heavy Assessments of Lands.

The system of Revenue Settlements introduced by the English Government does it the greatest credit. But it is heavy compared with former settlements. Formerly the revenue was realized by sharing the actual crop with the cultivator. Sher Shah [founder of the Suri dynasty in 1538] claimed for Government one third of the produce of the land, and though this plan had its difficulties and exposed the Government to some little risk, yet the cultivators felt secure and were little liable to loss. Akbar was the first regularly to adopt this plan of taking one third of the produce. It was by him that the system was matured as may be seen in Mr. Elphinstone's excellent work upon India, and in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Akbar divided the land into the classes and changed the payments in kind into money payments. The first class, which goes by the name of "*Pulich*," was cultivated yearly, and the produce of this he divided with the cultivators according to their respective shares. The second class was called "*Paroti*" and was not kept in constant cultivation, being occasionally allowed to lie fallow in order to strengthen it. The produce of this class of land he shared with the cultivators in such years as it was cultivated. The third class, which was called "*Chachar*," remained uncultivated for 3 or 4 years and required the expenditure of money in order to make it fertile. In the first year of cultivation, Akbar took two-fifths of the produce from this land, increasing his demand yearly, till in the fifth year he received his full share. The fourth class, which was called "*Bunjar*" and required to lie fallow for more than five years, was treated on still more lenient terms.

The way in which the money value of the crops was calculated was as follows. The crop of every *beegah* and of every different kind of land was reckoned according to the weight of an average amount of grain produced by such land. For example the average crop of a *beegah* would be reckoned at 9 maunds of grain, a third of which, namely, 3 maunds, would represent the demand of Government on the cultivator. The grain would then be valued at the average of the price current; and a money rate fixed on the *beegah* accordingly. The great advantage of this system was that, if the cultivators considered the price fixed by the price tables more than the value of the corn, they had the option of paying in kind.

The assessments imposed by the English Government have been fixed without any regard for their various contingencies. Land lying fallow pays in the same proportion as other land. Such lands as are for a time left uncultivated in order that they may acquire strength are not considered free from assessment.

From being cultivated to the same extent year after year, land becomes weak and unfruitful and does not yield an equal amount. It ceases to have the same value as was put upon it at the time of the settlement. In many districts, every settlement that was made pressed heavily, and landlords and cultivators were alike reduced to straight. In course of time they were unable to provide themselves with proper implements. These accordingly became scarce. Land was not properly cultivated. The property became scanty. The cultivators were obliged to borrow money in order to pay the revenue. The interest on these loans ran up. Landlords, formerly men of substance, found themselves suddenly ruined. Villages in which there happened to be land already lying uncultivated became more than ever neglected. Mr. Thomason, in Paragraph 64 of his directions to settlement officers, says that the settlements under Regulation IX of 1833 were light on good villages, but pressed heavily on poorer ones.

The landlords, I admit, can no longer extort rent illegally or make illicit profits, but they were entitled to more consideration than has been shown them. Both they and the cultivators have suffered, and hence it is that, notwithstanding the security of life and property which they now enjoy, the landlords look back with regret on the dynasties of former days.

Abolition of Talookdari rights particularly in the Oudh province.

I will not say that to crush the talookdars was an unjust measure, but it was one of the chief causes of the rebellion, and especially of the rebellion in Oudh. The talookdars had long enjoyed the rank of Rajas. They exercised the rights of sovereignty in the villages composing their talookdaries. From these villages, their income derived. All these rights and all this income alike were suddenly wrested from them. Here again, I shall not stop to enquire what other steps could have been taken by Government to secure the undertenants from the oppression of the talookdars. I have elsewhere entered into the matter. I merely say now that the abolition of the talookdars was among the causes of the rebellion.

Introduction of stamped paper.

The practice of using stamped papers is peculiar to Europe, where land is scarely looked upon as a means of revenue. The introduction of this practice into Hindustan and the gradual rise in price of stamped paper, which reached its highest amount under Regulation X of 1829, were entirely opposed to the spirit of Hindustanee customs. Taking into consideration the general poverty of the Hindustanees, the measure seems to me to have been very unwise. This question of stamped paper has long been an open one, and strong arguments have not been wanting to show the mischief of the practice and to prove that it is opposed to all sound rules of political economy.

This, however, is a question I shall not discuss here. I would only remark that the question as hitherto argued has had reference to countries where people were educated, wealthy, and intelligent. It is easy to see that the Hindustanees, who are becoming more and more impoverished every day, can never hope to bear up under this expense. This system of using stamped paper is one which has been disapproved of by most men of reflection. They argue that, to whatever extent it may be unjust to levy a tax on lands, title-deeds,

and so on, so much the more it is unwise to levy a tax upon papers intended to aid in the furtherance of justice. Besides the heavy expenses which this system entails, it tends greatly to hinder the actual administration of justice. Mr. Mill, in his book on *Political Economy*, and Lord Brougham, in his work on *Political Philosophy*, have expressed their disapproval of the system, and it must be remembered that all arguments urged against its practice in Europe carry with them a tenfold force when applied to Hindustan.

Civil Administration in Bengal superior to that in the Punjab, but requires revision in certain points.

The Civil Courts in the Presidencies of Bengal and Agra deserve much praise. They have had nothing to do with the late rebellion. I know that many Government Officers will differ from me on this point and will prefer the system which has been adopted in the Punjab. But this is a matter which is open to a great deal of doubt. The laws in force in the Punjab are very vague and sketchy. There exist in the Punjab no commentaries or instructions for the purpose of explaining or elucidating the laws or adapting them to practice. Each individual judge is a light to himself; and unfortunately it does not happen that a judge is always right in his interpretation. To what confusion is such a state of things likely to lead in the course of time!

The Civil Court is the tribunal in which the most implicit trust should be placed. It is the Civil Court on which depends the internal tranquility of the kingdom, the safe transport of merchandise, the increase of trade, and the establishment of rights. But Punjab officers pay very little attention to the Civil Courts. They have not, indeed, the time to do so. Cases requiring long and patient investigation regarding transfers of right and a variety of other matters, such as have sprung up in process of time under the English Government and are constantly recurring in the Civil Courts of these Provinces, are as yet unknown in the Punjab. But when, in course of time, such suits are brought into the Civil Courts of Punjab, the laws by which the judges are at present guided will be found altogether inefficient.

The Civil Courts, no doubt, have their share among causes of the rebellion; but only in connection with two subjects: the one, the transfer of rights; the other, the issue of decrees for debt. These led internal riots, but they gave rise to no opposition against Government. They were sores which festered only in the breasts of the parties concerned. Such a state of things might have been expected. Whenever the reins of Government are loosened, the people always begin fighting with each other. Unjust transfers of land and debts, unjustly adjudged due, increased the confusion. Many men, moreover, had fallen victims to trumped up suits and the blame of these fell upon the Civil Courts. But the incomplete and summary modes of investigation which prevail in the Punjab Civil Courts, and the wrongheadedness of the judges presiding in them, have been productive of no less mischief. Ten years cannot tell us how the Civil Courts work. Fifty years hence, we may compare the administration of the North West Provinces and the working of its Courts with the administration and Courts of the Punjab; at present the comparison cannot hold. I do not deny that the laws which regulate justice in Bengal and the North West Provinces are capable of improvement. Great delays occur in the decision of cases. The price of stamped paper and various gradations of appeal render appeal too costly for the people. The

powers of judges have been in certain respects unduly restricted. Act XIX of 1853 remedied this to some extent, but there is still room for improvement. However, anyone caring to see what I have to say on this subject, can read my book on the Government of Hindustan, in which work my views are given in *extenso*.

CAUSE III
THE IGNORANCE OF GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND THEIR SUBJECTS

The ignorance of Government of the state of the country and their subjects.

There is no doubt that government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it well be otherwise? There was no real communication between the Governors and the governed, no living together or near one another as has always been the custom of the Muhammadans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted this course, without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained. It is, however, not easy to see how this can be done by the English, as they almos all look forward to retirement in their native land and seldom settle fr good amongst the natives of India.

The people again having no voice in the Government of the country could not well better their condition, and if they did try to make themselves heard by means of petitions, these same petitions were seldom if ever attended to and sometimes never even heard.

Government, it is true, received reports from its subordinate officials, but even these officials themselves were ignorant of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of getting at them. The behaviour of these subordinates as a rule, their pride and their treatment of natives, is well known. In their presence native gentlemen were afraid, and if they had told these officials of their want of knowledge of the people of their Districts, they would only have been summarily ejected for their pains. All the *Amlah* [readers and clerks] and the civil functionaries as well as wealthy native gentlemen were afraid and consequently did nothing but flatter.

New Government, although in name only a government subordinate to a higher government, was in reality the real Government of this country, and as such, it ought to have received the complaints and petitions of its people directly and not, as it did invariably, by reports from its district officers. These are some of the reasons why the real feelings and ways of its people, why the action of new laws passed for the people, their working for good or for bad for the prosperity or otherwise of the countrymen, were unknown or only slightly known to Government. The people were isolated; they had no champion to stand up for their rights and to see justice done to them, and they were constrained to weep in silence.

Overwhelming Poverty of the Indians, particularly of the Muhammadans.

There is nothing wonderful in the fact that the natives were poor and in distress. A native's best profession is service. Now although every one felt the difficulty of getting service, this difficulty pressed most heavily on the Muhammadans. It must be borne in mind that the Hindus, the original inhabitants of the country, were never in former days in the habit of taking service, but on the contrary they were each engaged in such work as their forefathers had been engaged in before them. The Brahmins never took service; the Vaishyas were always traders and bankers; the Kshatriyas, once lords of the land, never took service, but each kept his own small portion of land, dividing it amongst his kinsmen and preserving a semblance of authority. They had no standing army, but as occasion required they all united either to resist or to invade, as the case might be, as was the custom in former days in Russia. There was one caste, certainly, that did take service and these were the Kayasths.

The Muhammadans are not the aborigines of this country. They came in the train of former conquerors and gradually domesticated themselves in India. They were, therefore, all dependent on service, and on account of this increased difficulty in obtaining the same, they, far more than the Hindus, were put to much inconvenience and misery. An honorable military service, distinct from that eagerly engaged in by the lower classes of the community, was with difficulty procurable under the British Government. The army, which was composed of sepoys, was not looked upon as a favourable field by the higher class of Muhammadans. True service was obtainable by them in the Cavalry, but the number of posts in that branch of service was small compared with what it had been in olden days. Formerly, besides government service, employment was obtainable in the private retinues or households of officers of state and large landlords, and these posts were well paid.

It is not so now, as the posts which are now filled by Englishmen do not entail upon the holders the necessity of keeping up a large retinue, and Englishmen, therefore, only have their own few private servants.

The same causes induced them to serve the rebels for one anna, one and half annas, or one seer of flour per day.

The consequence of this was that, when the mutineers wanted recruits, thousands flocked in, just as in a famine, hungry men rush upon food. Many took service upon one anna or one anna and a half *per diem* and many, instead of cash, received a couple or perhaps three pounds of grain daily. It is evident, therefore, that however much they might desire service, the natives of India were unable to obtain it, the number wanting service being greatly in excess of the number of posts to be filled.

The stoppage of stipends and pensions

Under the old regime there was another thing which contributed to the prosperity of the people, viz., the custom of bestowing *Jagirs* [grants of land or presents]. At the coronation of the Emperor Shah Jehan [1628-1658] at

Delhi, no less than 400,000 *beegahs*, 120 villages, and tens of thousands pounds of sterling were given away in presents. This is never done nowadays and not only is it not the case now, but even *Jagirs* [grants of land] bestowed on the recipients in former days have been forfeited. Having thus shown the unsatisfactory state into which the zamindars and cultivators have fallen, I must also state that petty artisans have suffered severly by the opening up of trade with England, as they cannot, of course, compete with machinery. No one even thinks nowadays of buying country made thread or matches, and the country cloth weavers have been ruined. When, by the Divine Will, Hindustan became an appendage of the Crown of Great Britain, it was the duty of Government to enquire into and lessen as much as possible the sufferings of its subjects. By not doing so, many who would otherwise have been staunch friends of the British joined the rebels.

The investment of capital in Government loan.

The issue of government notes is another cause of injury to India, such as was never the case under any former Government. The interest of the money which Government borrowed, the expense of collecting the money to pay for that interest, and the benefit which Government derived from the money borrowed were all taken from the country.

Families, who in former years and under the former rulers of this country were great and powerful, have under this Government been reduced to poverty. This was one great reason for the dissatisfaction felt in India and one great reason, in my opinion, why they were inclined for a change of rulers. When the British were victorious in Afghanistan, the people mourned. Why was this? Because they thought that they would now be compelled to relinquish the cherished faith of their forefathers and become Christians. When, in addition to this, Gwalior was conquered and the Punjab and Oudh annexed, this fear gained ground. In these native states, natives were eligible for high public posts and native wares were always saleable there. When, therefore, the native courts of these states were done away with, these openings and aids to the people of India were suddenly cut off.

The English Government had, however, very many good points. I do not condemn it entirely. The feeling of security which the subject enjoys under the British rule, of ease and freedom, the many good roads, the putting down of dacoitee, thuggee and highway robbery, the facilities afforded to travellers, the ease with which merchants could transport their goods to far off localities, the benefit to all, rich and poor alike, which accrued from the extension of the cheap postal system, the decrease of murders and deadly affrays, the protection of the poor from the oppression of the rich, these and many other blessings have never been enjoyed under any former Government, and in all probability never will. But it must be borne in mind that the benefits derived from the above do not efface the feeling that I have above portrayed.

Another thing is that this good government benefits more especially merchants and women, who have always been loud in their praises of it, because it protected them from lawless affrays, from dacoitees, from the

Amils (men formerly put in charge of Districts by the Sovereign and who exercised great oppression), and from many other numerous evils. They, therefore, deriving benefits as they did from the government, were not against it.

CAUSE IV
NEGLECT IN MATTERS WHICH SHOULD HAVE RECEIVED CONSIDERATION FROM GOVERNMENT

I will now proceed to show what duties Government ought to have fulfilled and which it did not fulfill.

Neglect in matters which should have received consideration of Government.

I feel it most necessary to say that which is in my heart and which I believe to be true even at the risk of its being distasteful to many of the ruling race. What I am now going to treat of is that which, if only done in a right way, will attract even wild animals, causing them to love instead of to dread, and which, therefore, will in a much greater degree attract men. I cannot here state at length what the benefits of friendship, intercourse, and sympathy are, but I maintain that the maintenance of friendly relations between the governors and the governed is far more necessary than between individuals. Private friendships only affect a few; friendship and good feeling between a government and its subjects affect a nation. As in private friendships two persons are united by the bond of a friendship, so also should a government and its people be knit together in like manner.

Want of cordiality towards the Indians.

The people and the government I may liken to a tree, the latter being the root and the former the growth of that root. As the root is, so will the tree be. What! Was such intimacy impossible under this Government? Most certainly not. We have numerous instances in which foreigners and natives of countries have been brought in contact with each other and of their becoming friends, even when their religions and countries were different and widely separated. And why was this? Just because they wished and did their utmost to become so. How often do we not see strifes and enmities between people of the same race, religion, and customs? Friendship, intercourse, and sympathy are, therefore, not wholly dependent for their existence merely on the giver and recipient being of the same religion, race, or country.

Does not the Apostle Paul admonish us in these beautiful words: "And the Lord make you to increase, and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you." (Ist Epistle of Paul to Thessalonians Ch. III, Verse 12)? And does not Jesus admonish us in these: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the Prophets." (Matthew, VII 12)?

These were meant to inculcate friendship and love to all men, and no one, no wise and thoughtful man, will say that the admonition is wrong, that friendship and love to our fellowmen are not beneficial, that their results are nil,

and that they do not blot out much that is wicked. As yet, truth compels me to state, government has not cultivated the friendship of its people as was its duty to do. The Creator has instilled it into the heart of man and the instinct of animals that the strong should be kind to and care for the weak. The father loves his child before the child loves him. Theman tries to win the woman, not the woman the man. If a man of low degree try to win the esteem of one in high position, he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was, therefore, for Government to try and win the friendship of its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. If it had done so, the results would have been great and the people would have rejoiced. Alas that it has not done so. If Government say that what I say is untrue, that they have tried to cultivate friendship and have only been repaid with enmity, I can only say that, if it had gone the right way to work, its subjects would most undoubtedly have been its friends and supporters, instead of, as in many instances, rising up in arms against it.

Now friendship is a feeling which springs from the heart and which cannot be kindled by admonitions. Men may meet on very friendly terms, but it does not therefore follow that they are friends in the real sense of the word, that they are friends at heart as well as in outward signs. This is a link, as it were, between hearts, a man instinctively feels that he likes a man or the contrary. Government has hitherto kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass, as if it thought that, were the two brought in contact, the latter would be burnt up. It and its people were like two different sorts of stone, one white and the other black, which stones too were being daily more and more widely separated. Now the relations between them ought to have been close like those between the streaks of white and black in the stone called Abri in which we see the former close alongside of the latter, the one blending with the other. Government was, of course, perfectly right in maintaining special friendly relations with its Christian subjects (the English), but it was at the same time incumbent upon it to show towards its native subjects that brotherly kindness which the Apostle Paul exhorts us to in these words: "And to godliness, brotherly kindness and to brotherly kindness, charity" (II Peter 1.7).

In ancient times, as long as cordiality was not observed by the reigning powers, tranquillity was not established.

It must be borne in mind that the blood of the Muhammadan conquerors and that of the people of the country was not the same; that their faith was not the same; their manners and customs not the same; that in their hearts the people did not like them; and that at first there was little or no amalgamation of the two. What then was the secret of their becoming friends? Let us glance at the former Indian dynasties. First came that of the Muhammadan conquerors. In the reign of the Turks and Pathans, there was no intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered until the government of the former was made firm and easy. A feeling of cordiality was first established in the reign of the Mogul Emperor Akbar I and continued till the reign of Shah Jehan. No doubt owing to many defects in the system of Government, the people were subjected to many evils, but these were lightened by the feelings just mentioned. This feeling, unfortunately, ceased during the

reign of [Aurangzeb] Alamgeer, A.D. 1779, when, owing to the rebellion of several Hindus of note, such as Sewajee, the Mahratta, etc., Alamgeer vowed vengeance against them all and sent orders to all his lieutenants to treat them with rigour and harshness and to exempt none from paying tribute. The injury and disaffection which were therefore caused are well known. Now the English Government has been in existence upwards of a century, and up to the present hour has not secured the affections of the people.

Treating the Indians with contempt.

One great source of the stability of a government is undoubtedly the treating of its subjects with honour and thus gaining their affections. Though a man's income be but small, treat him with honour and he is far more gratified than if he were presented with three or four times the amount and were treated with contempt. Contempt is an ineradicable wrong. Being treated contemptuously [hurt] sinks deep into a man's heart and, although uninjured by the same as to his worldly goods, he still becomes an enemy. The wound rankles deep and cannot be healed; that given by a sword can be healed, but that inflicted by a contemptuous word can not. The results of kindness are different: an enemy even, if treated courteously, becomes a friend; friends by friendly intercourse become greater friends; and strangers, if treated in a friendly manner, are no longer strangers. By kindness we make the brute creature our willing slaves; how much more then would such treatment cement the bonds between a Government and its people? Now in the first years of the British rule in India, the people were heartily in favour of it. This good feeling the Government has now forfeited and the natives very generally say that they are treated with contempt. A native gentleman in the eyes of any petty official is as much lower than that official, as that same official esteems himself lower than a Duke. The opinion of many of these officials is that no native can be a gentleman.

The uncourtly address of local authorities towards the natives.

Now, as Government is throughout India represented by its officials, it follows as a matter of course that the natives will judge of the temper of Government towards them by what they see of these officials. However good the intention of the Government with regard to its subjects may be, unless these same officials give practical proof thereof by kind treatment of the natives, the people will not believe in them. Theory and practice are not one and the same. In these days, or rather within the last few years, the feeling of officials towards natives is not nearly so favourable as was formerly the case. In olden days natives were treated with honour and in a friendly manner by these officials and, consequently, to use a native expression, "they carried their (the natives) hearts in their hands". They sympathized with them in their joys and sorrows, and this, too, notwithstanding their high position. They were consequently greatly liked, and the natives used to say, "How wonderful is the treatment from men in the highest position, who, though weilding the reins of empire are still without pride!"

Natives of rank were also treated in a highly honorable manner. They (the officials) really followed the precepts of St. Peter: "And to Godliness, brotherly kindness, to brotherly kindness, charity." (II Peter V.7) The reverse of which is, unfortunately, the case as regards the greater number of the officials of the present day. Has not their pride and arrogance caused them to esteem the Hindustani as nothing in their eyes, and have not their ill-temper and want of solicitude for the natives caused them to be looked upon with dread by the latter? Is it not well-known to Government that even the natives of the highest rank never come into the presence of officials, but with an inward fear and trembling? Is it a secret that the *Amlah* (native court officials) are often addressed harshly and abused by their superiors whilst reading out papers to them? These men, many of them of good birth, often inwardly exclaim, "Oh! that I could gain my living otherwise, cutting grass by the wayside were better than this." I do not say that the behaviour of all English officials is like this. There are many who are well known for their kindness and friendly feeling toward the natives and these are in consequence much beloved by them, [and] are, to use a native expression, as the sun and the moon to them, and are pointed out as types of the old race of officials.

These men truly follow the admonition of Christ Jesus who said to Simon called Peter and Andrew his brother when they were fishing, "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men." They, by their good character, have drawn the people to them, as it were, in a net; they have not treated them with useless arrogance, without which some think that a high position in the eyes of the natives cannot be kept up. They have earned that blessing which Christ enunciated: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew, V.3). They have treated the people with gentleness and leniency and have ruled the land according to the precept: "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth" (Matthew, V.5). They have also let their light shine before men, as Christ enjoined in Matthew (V.16), "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your father which is in heaven."

Few in number, wherever they are, they are held dear by the natives.

The ill treatment more repugnant to Muhammadans.

This treatment before alluded to was most offensive to all people of India, but most especially so to the Muhammadans. The reasons for this are clear. For centuries the Muhammadan's position in India has been an honorable one. There is an element of shame in his disposition. He has no grasping desire for money; he esteems honor above all other things; and there are many proofs on record which show that the Muhammadan is not easily brought to do that which, under the influence of temptation, other races in India will do without compunction. It may be that this is wrong, but God having instilled it into him, his views and feelings cannot easily be changed. It may be unfortunate, but it is inculcated into them by their religion and is no fault of theirs. This ill treatment then it was which pained them grievously and which caused them heartily to wish for a change of government and to hear with joy of anything that was opposed to the present Government. It is much

to be regretted that the Muhammadans did not know that Government was doing its utmost to further their interests, their education and to uphold their honor. This they did not know, as the intentions and wishes of Government were never made known by their various officials.

Exclusion of natives from high appointments.

Another great reason for the dissatisfaction of the natives of India, and more especially of the Muhammadans, was the exclusion of the natives from high appointments. A few short years ago Muhammadans filled the most honorable posts under their government and the desire and hope for such is still in them. Under the English Government they longed for the advancement of their honor in the eyes of the world, but there was no way open to them. In the early days of this government, natives of rank were certainly singled out to fill high posts, but by degrees this fell into disuse. The assertion by Muhammadans that the practice of holding examinations is a bad one is a mistaken one. If they have not the qualifications to enable them to pass, they must not blame the system; undoubtedly the examination system goes far towards procuring an efficient staff of public servants, but many natives are appointed to high posts who, in the estimation of their countrymen, are very small indeed. In the giving of certificates very little was thought of family and honor. Lord Bentinck, did most for the advancement of the natives in this respect, but the high appointments which he bestowed upon a select few were utterly inadequate to the wants of the people. English officers of the highest rank have often admitted this of late years. Now, passing an examination is a *sine qua non* in England. Are the best English statesmen invariably those who have passed high examination? Are high diplomatic posts not often given to them on account of their birth and practical common sense and some times even without the latter qualifications?

The not holding of Durbars by the Governor General of India and not conferring rank and honor due to merit according to the usage of former emperors.

The people of India have from time immemorial been in the habit of attending the *durbars* [courts] of their Sovereign and have always enjoyed seeing his pomp and state and influence. This feeling of gladness at the sight of the Sovereign is a feeling instinctively felt by everyone. Man feels the power of the ruler when thus brought face to face with him and acknowledges himself to be his subject. Now, although the Governor General of India was certainly, whilst on tour, in the habit of holding *durbars*, still the few that he did hold were not sufficient for the wants of the country. Lords Auckland and Ellenborough held right regal *durbars*. This perhaps may not have been approved of by the Home Government, but it was a most excellent thing for India, although even their *durbars* were too few in number. May the Almighty always watch over and protect our most gracious sovereign Queen Victoria and Her representation in India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General. Let us hope that the heart-felt wants of the natives of this country may be listened to and gradually satisfied.

The observation of rules by Lord Auckland and Ellenborough a very proper one.

The only real kingdom is that of the Almighty who created the world. He, however, made the kings of this world as a type of what He Himself is, in order that man, on seeing his sovereign, should recollect that there is the still greater one who made him. For this reason, many wise and able men have laid down that the good qualities of the Almighty, such as bounty kindness, etc., should also be found represented in earthly kings, hence the title "Shadowed of God." It is, therefore, incumbent on earthly kings to treat their subjects with that bountiful liberality with which the Almighty has treated the whole world. It may appear at first sight bad policy to spend the public money in rewarding slight services, but in my humble opinion this practice is calculated to increase the loyalty of the subject and thus to render the enpire more stable.

It is a well-known saying that "kindness and beneficience make slaves of men", therefore, when the people see those virtues in their rulers, true love towards him and a desire to serve him faithfully and loyally are germinated in their hearts. We know from history that this was the case in olden days and under various dynasties in India, and that the nobles and the people at large had honors and gifts, such as titles, money, land, and other valuables, bestowed upon them with no sparing hand. The recipients felt honored and pleased, were held in greater honor by their brethren, and the nation at large liked the practice as being one which had come down to them from remote ages. Government put a stop to this and no one could expect much in the way of rewards and honors from it. When, therefore, the people heard that the Government of India had been formally assumed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, they rejoiced, as they were longing for a change.

The expenses of former rulers of India were of two sorts, viz., money spent on their own private luxuries and debauches which were undoubtedly wrong and disapproved of by the people and that spent in rewarding faithful servants, victorious generals, learned men, faqueer [Faqir, men of learning and sanctity], poets, beggars, or deserving poor, which latter expenditure was very popular. The discontinuance of the same by the British has displeased the people, especially the recipients, who from being always well cared for were unable to work for their bread. Now this system is undoubtedly bad as it makes the people lazy and not induced to help themselves; and much better is it that the rewards be discontinued and freedom be granted to the subject, that, thus he may earn his daily bread himself; but this boon of freedom can only be appreciated when the people become educated and contented and not all at once. It is like taking the reins out of a horse's mouth, turning him loose, and turning him out into the jungle to find his food for himself. What is the result? He either dies or remains a wild animal all his days, giving the rein to his passions. If a man be thus treated he will either rob, murder, or rebel.

The facts of the Rebellion in India appeared more serious to the authorities than they in reality were.

Men's minds under the influence of anger are apt to lose sight of the true causes of any event and to be warped by a desire for vengeance. The events of the year 1857 were no doubt so dreadful as to justify the feelings

of anger and desire for vegeance which had full possession of the hearts of the English during that awful year; but at the same time we must find out what, at that time, was the condition of Hindustan, how the rebellion really commenced, why it attained such a height, and why, in certain districts, more misled Muhammadans rebelled than in others.

It must be borne in mind that for centuries past the condition of India has been unsettled, that from time immemorial, its people have been accustomed to flock in thousands to the standard of any powerful noble (Ameer) who attained any success in the field and that they never held their doing so to be criminal, accepting responsible posts in the administration of his country for the time being. It is well known in India that the taking of service is no offence. Whoever pays is served. It is thought wrong not to tender allegiance to a king who may have been proclaimed king in the place of another deposed. The various kings and princes of Hindustan have never, on conquering an enemy's country, attached any blame to the servants, whether civil or military, of that enemy, and the people were aware of this.

When the leaders of the rebellion called for recruits, thousands of poor men wanting service flocked in and took it. They thought there was nothing wrong in doing so, as their livelihood was procured by such service. Many thought that the British rule in Hindustan was at an end and that, therefore, it was their duty to tender their allegiance to the reigning powers, i.e., to the rebels. Many officials also thought that lives would be spared by feigning to be on the rebel side and that when the British rule was reestablished, they could throw off the mask. These men were, however, found guilty, although, undoubtedly, many amongst them were true subjects of the British. Many also there were, servants of government and others, who, under compulsion, or through ignorance, or from being merely mortal, committed themselves, and then, thinking that their sin, committed perhaps under great temptation or perhaps under compulsion, would not be pardoned and would meet with severe punishment, cast in their lot entirely with the rebels. Others there were who had really done nothing; but through fear, etc., joined the rebels. Many also, as before stated, joined them, thinking it no crime to do so.

If the whole facts regarding the rebellion be thoroughly sifted, I feel certain that we shall find that just as many Hindus were concerned therein as Muhammadans, and the proof of this will be found in what took place all over Hindustan. It must not be supposed that the reason why, in some districts, the Muhammadans who rebelled were greater in number than the Hindus was that the King of Delhi, who was their head, claimed the throne of Delhi or that they were in reality as rebellious as they seemed to be. No! small acts said to have been committed by them were seized upon and magnified by their enemies, and the minds of the officials were worked upon and poisoned against them. The breach was thus widened, the English becoming more and more angry and the Muhammadans more and more afraid and hopeless. It was their fate to have their actions misrepresented and to have the minds of their rulers poisoned against them. There were, no doubt, many Muhammadans who did rebel and whose rebellion we must enter in the V Class. These men were delighted at the prospects of a change of Government for reasons already shown. Nevertheless government are no doubt well aware what race it was and what men that proved most faithful even unto death. All men are guilty, in His eyes, who is the only true Ruler. They are also guilty in the eyes of earthly kings, temporarily put into authority by Him.

The Psalmist has truly said, "Enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified" (Psalm exliii,2). "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to Thy loving kindness; according unto the multitude of Thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sins." (Psalms li, 1 and 2).

The Almighty is the preserver of our Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria. Words of mine cannot sufficiently praise the most merciful and considerate proclamation issued by Her Gracious Majesty.

Her Majesty's Proclamation highly commendable, indeed may be said to have originated under divine inspiration.

The hand of the Almighty is on Her Gracious head and this proclamation has been inspired by God. There is an ancient custom in Hindustan which is that, whenever a new king ascends the throne, rightly or wrongly, all the nobles of the land present themselves to pay their respects. This was the case in rebellion. When the people heard that the Emperor of Delhi had ascended the throne, they presented themselves, and when he was deposed and imprisoned, men knew perfectly well that the same people would tender their allegiance to the English. The rebel army itself might perhaps not to do this, but the reasons for their not doing so need not be treated of here.

CAUSE V
THE INSUBORDINATE STATE OF THE INDIAN FORCES

The paucity of the English forces.

The English army system in India has always been faulty and one great fault was the paucity of English troops. When Nadir Shah conquered Khorassan and became master of the two kingdoms of Persia and Afghanistan, he invariably kept the two armies at equal strength. The one consisted, or rather was composed, of Persians and Kuzul Bashies, and the other was composed of Afghans. When the Persian Army attempted to rise, the Afghan army was at hand to quell the rebellion and vice versa. The English did not follow this precedent in India. The sepoy army was no doubt faithful in its day and served the Government well, but how could Government feel certain that it would never act contrary to its orders? What measures had Government taken for quelling at once on the spot any emeute in that vast army, such as that which happened last year?

The employment of Hindus and Muhammadans in the same regiment.

Government certainly did put the two antagonistic races into the same regiment, but constant intercourse had done its work and the two races in regiment had almost become one. It is but natural and to be expected that

a feeling of friendship and brotherhood must spring up between the men of a regiment, constantly brought together as they are. They consider themselves as one body and thus it was that the difference which exists between Hindus and Muhammadans had, in these regiments, been almost entirely smoothed away. If a portion of the regiment engaged in anything, all the rest joined. If separate regiments of Hindus and separate regiments of Muhammadans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood could not have arisen, and, in my opinion, the Muhammadan regiments would have refused to receive the new cartridges.

The pride of the Indian forces and its causes.

Owing to the paucity of the European element, the people of India only stood in awe of the sepoys, who thus became puffed up with pride and thought that there were none like them in the world. They looked upon the European portion of the army as a myth and thought that the many victories which the English had gained were gained entirely by their own prowess. A common saying of theirs was that they enabled the English to conquer Hindustan from Burmah to Kabul. This pride of the sepoys was most marked after the Punjab was conquered. So far had it gone that they made objections to anything which they did not like and, I believe, even remonstrated when ordered to march, consequent on the yearly reliefs.

It was precisely at this time, when the army was imbued with this feeling of pride and the knowledge or rather conjecture that Government would grant anything they stood out for, that the new cartridges were issued, cartridges which they really believed were made up with fat and the using of which would destroy their caste. They refused to bite them. When the regiment at Barrackpore was disbanded and the general order announcing the same was read out to each regiment, the deepest grief was felt throughout the army. They thought that the refusal to bite the cartridges, the biting of which would have destroyed their caste, was no crime at all; that the men of the disbanded regiment were not in the least to blame and that their disbandment was an act utterly devoid of justice on the part of the government. The whole army deeply regretted ever having had anything to do with Government. They felt that they had shed their blood in its cause and conquered many countries for it, that in return it wished to take away their caste and had dismissed those who had justly stood out for their right. There was, however, no open rebellion just then, as they had only been disbanded and had not been treated with greater severity; but partly from feeling certain that the cartridges were mixed with fat, partly from grief at seeing their comrades disbanded at Barrackpore, and still more by reason of their pride, arrogance, and vanity, the whole army was determined, come what might, not to bite the cartridges.

The impropriety of punishing the non-commissioned officers at Meerut which touched the vanity of the Indian forces.

Correspondence was undoubtedly actively carried on in the army after the events at Barrackpore, and messages were sent telling the men not to bite the cartridges. Up to this time there was a strong feeling of indignation and irritation in the army but, in my opinion, there was no intention of rebelling.

The fatal month of May 1857 was now at hand in which the army was punished in a manner which thinking men knew to have been most wrong and most inopportune. The anger, which the news of this punishment created in the minds of the sepoys, was intense. The prisoners, on seeing their hands and feet manacled, looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services and thought how they had been recompensed, and their pride, which as I have before said was the feeling of the whole army, caused them to feel the degradation all the more keenly. Then the rest of the troops at Meerut were fully persuaded that they would either be compelled to bite the cartridges or undergo the same punishment. This rage and grief led to the fearful events of the 10th of May, which events are unparalleled in the annals of history. After committing themselves thus, the mutineers had no choice left but to continue in their career of rebellion.

Want of confidence in the Indian forces towards Government after the occurance of Meerut.

When the news of the outbreak became known, the irritation of the sepoys increased. The whole army felt that their confidence in Government was at an end, that Government was only waiting for an opportunity to punish them all and hence it was that their confidence in what their officers did and said was scattered to the winds. They used to say, "Government says this and that just at present, but when all is quiet again it will not do what it says it will do."

I state on the best authority that thousands of the sepoys who composed the rebel army in Delhi were sorry for the acts that had been committed and for having rebelled so insanely. Whilst the seige was going on, they used to say with tears in their eyes that fate had caused them to do this. "What could we do," said they, "except rebel?" We were never sure what punishment was in store for us, as Government had no confidence in us. On an opportunity offering, we should have been compelled to do everything. At the commencement of the rebellion, when it was known that a force was going to be sent out, many stated it to be their conviction that when the two opposing forces met, the whole of the native portion would desert from the British. This was verified by the results; and the reason for it was that, when it came to fighting against their brethren, no one would remain true as they said when with our aid the English conquer our comrades, they will then turn their attention to us! All therefore joined in the rebellion, even those who wished to remain faithful to their salt were carried away by the majority. Now the people were perfectly well aware that Government was almost entirely dependant on the sepoy army; when therefore it became known that, that army had revolted, the people also became riotous. They no longer were in awe of the Government.

Why the mutiny did not break out in the Punjab.

Let us now see how these opinions of mine effect the rebellion or "part rebellion" which took place in the Punjab. The Muhammadans there had been greatly oppressed by the Sikhs, and had received no injury at the hands of the British. When the British first took the country, oppression was rife. This was day by day decreasing, whilst the contrary was the case of Hindustan proper.

The whole of the Punjab, when first annexed, was disarmed, and thus the weapons necessary for rebellion were not forthcoming. The Sikhs, too, though not so wealthy as in former days, had still sufficient to live upon, chiefly from monies which they had inherited. The poverty which was rife in Hindustan had not yet had time to become rife in the Punjab.

Besides these, there were other cogent reasons why the Punjab remained tranquil. Firstly, there was a powerful European army on the spot; secondly, the wisdom shown by the officials in at once disarming the sepoys. Thirdly, the number of the rivers and the shutting up of the ferries on them, which rendered the few who did rebel, powerless. Fourthly, all the Sikhs, Punjabees and Pathans, who might otherwise have tried their hand at rebellion, had already taken service or were being formed into corps and the desire for the plunder of Hindustan [i.e., areas of the U.P.] was strong in them. We thus find that the service which the people of India took in the rebel army under such difficulty and changes was easily obtained in government services in the Punjab. The circumstances of the Punjab were quite different from those of Hindustan proper.

APPENDIX I
[REV. E. EDMOND'S LETTER]

The time appears to have come when earnest consideration should be given to the subject, whether or not all men should embrace the same system of religion. Railways, steam vessels and the electric telegraph are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth: the more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, the same hopes, the same fears, and therefore, the same nature and the same origin. It is also very certain that death universally closes the scene.

Is there then, no means by which the sorrows and anxieties of life can be alleviated and by which comfort can be given to men in the hour of death? Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself, by mere guess? Or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family? Surely, this cannot be.

Now Christianity is a system which professes to have come by direct revelation from God Himself, as the only system by which happiness can be secured in this world, or in that other world which it reveals. It has this peculiarity to distinguish it from every other system of religion in the world, that it appeals to the reason as well as to the heart of man, and it is the *only* system in the world which has spread by the mere force of argument. The nations which believe in it are the most thoughtful and the most civilized in the earth, so that it has, at all events, a claim to be heard on its own behalf.

Having received the greatest blessings from it ourselves, we are anxious that others should be induced to receive them, and therefore, this solemn and earnest appeal is made to you to examine this important subject for yourself. The arguments in its favour are very numerous; this paper will dwell only upon one of them, but that one will be quite sufficient to establish the point.

A man called Jesus was born in a place called Bethlehem in the land of Judea, about 1159 years ago. He was a man of low birth, and in poor circumstances, but he professed to be a teacher sent by God to point out the only way which would lead unto God. After going about the country for three years preaching, he was put to death by the Roman Government at the solicitation of the Jewish Priests. So far all is admitted universally: the death of Jesus is a FACT, as the death of Julius Ceasar is a fact, and no person thinks of doubting the one fact more than the other. The Jews, the greatest enemies of Jesus and his doctrine, glory in it, and they are the best witnesses we could desire.

His followers say that he rose again from the dead. This is the ONE GREAT FACT upon which the WHOLE system of Christianity depends; if it is true, the Gospel is true -- for no person could rise from the dead except by the power of God, and God would not raise from the dead any person whose life and doctrine was not pleasing unto HIM; if it is false, the Gospel is false.

We would respectfully and earnestly urge you to direct your whole attention to this ONE point. Did Jesus rise from the dead, or did he not? We must bring witnesses of the fact; here they are: Peter, James, John, Matthew, Matthias, Thomas, Jude, Mary Magdalene, Cheophas and 500 others, whose names are not now known. Many of these persons were the chosen friends, who had been constantly with Jesus for three years before his death; they could not therefore have been mistaken as to his person; they came forward within 50 days of his death and declared that he had risen again in the very place where, and among the very people by whom he had been crucified.

They had nothing to gain by this declaration, but everything to lose, not improbably their own lives; and yet they persuaded some thousands of persons that what they said was true -- so much so that the name of this despised and hated man was now, by those who had rejected Him, worshipped and revered; they continued telling the same fact as long as they lived, not only in Judea, but over all the Roman Empire: many of them showed their sincerity by allowing themselves to be put to torture and death for saying so, when they might have escaped, had they only said it was false: though ignorant and unlettered men, they persuaded thousands, all over the Empire, to believe them, to forsake their own religion, and to embrace the one they taught, notwithstanding scorn and death: they held out no promises of earthly comfort and honor to induce men to believe them, but rather the contrary: they were not satisfied with a formal adhesion to their views; but they required self-denial and holiness of life, which all men naturally dislike; they said that even the new religion would not save any man; and yet though they thus gained nothing themselves, and told others that they must not expect to gain anything either, they satisfied men that Jesus did rise again! and this so effectively that from the most obscure corner of the Roman Empire, the doctrine preached by uneducated fishermen, about a poor carpenter's son, spread over the whole Empire even after their death, and overthrew every other system of religion though sanctioned by the consent of ages!

We have likewise the evidence of persons who did not become preachers of the New Doctrine, to prove the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ; the soldiers who were placed as a guard at the grave saw it, and told the priests of it, and they found it necessary to invent an absurd story to account for the admitted disappearance of the body!

The only evidence which any person could desire, which we do not possess, is that of the public; it may be said, why did He not show himself publicly to all, especially to those persons who put Him to death? Various reasons may be assigned for this, derived from the nature of the doctrine which He taught; into these it is impossible at present to enter; but it must be observed, that the want of this evidence in no way affects the truth

of that which we do possess: if a number of persons who knew Him intimately, saw Him and spoke to Him, and ate with him upon several occasions, it certainly does not tend to shake their evidence to ask, why did not others see Him also? Whenever He appeared, all who were present at that place at that time saw Him upon one occasion to the number of 500! So that it was not an apparition, but a reality. One person, by name Thomas, said that he would not believe that it was really his old friend, till he had put his hand into the holes caused by the nails in His hands, and into that caused by the spear in His side; but even he was satisfied!

We earnestly entreat you to consider these facts; if there is any flaw in the evidence, point it out; but if not, then admit that it is true, that Jesus Christ did rise from the dead -- embrace the Gospel.

This resurrection of Jesus Christ is an assurance unto all men that God hath appointed a day in which He will judge all the world in righteousness; you will then stand before Him; you will be called upon to answer for the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil actions of which you have been guilty. Are you prepared to do so? There is no man living who is. But all guilt is pardoned in the case of every one who trusts in Jesus Christ as his Saviour, for holiness is conferred upon him likewise, so that he will be prepared even for that dreadful day.

We urge you, therefore, as you value your own happiness for ever, to examine this great subject, and to ask God himself to enable you, by His Holy Spirit's teaching to do so aright. Think over it and examine it in private; do so with others also to whom as well as to yourself, this letter is addressed; confine your attention to the one point, whether or not those persons are to be believed who said they saw Jesus Christ after He had risen from the dead: if you do so, you will be convinced by all the rules of evidence, that Jesus Christ did rise from the dead, and that therefore the Gospel is a true and the only revelation from God.

Then be courageous and embrace it publicly: for He said Himself "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when He cometh in the Glory of His Father with the Holy Angels." We long to see churches thronged with the natives of this land, in which the glad tidings of the Gospel shall regularly be proclaimed by your own countrymen and not by strangers only; in which women, as well as men, shall be urged to repent of their sins, and to prepare to meet their God; in which children shall be taught lessons of morality and truth, to guide their conduct in this world, and lessons of holiness and peace to fit them for the next, and in which death shall be spoken of as an enemy no longer to be feared, for his sting has been taken away by "Our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." That this will yet be the case we are assured by God himself: we long for the time when it shall be fully realized. Why not in this generation? Would it not be an infinite improvement upon the foolish, degrading and wicked idolatry, which now defiles the land? "We speak as to wise men, judge ye what we say."

Any answers that may be sent to this letter, will be received and acknowledged, D.V., if addressed to the care of E. Edmond, Esq., Calcutta, prepaid.

APPENDIX II
TRANSLATION OF A PERSIAN NOTICE, ISSUED BY H.H. THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, having heard that the people of the country are unnecessarily apprehensive and uneasy on account of certain unreasonable and unfounded stories, fabricated and spread by people equally unreasonable and prejudiced, with regards to the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hindus and Muhammadans, hereby notifies that Government has no intention of interfering in the matters of religion, rites and ceremonies of the country, nor can it ever have such an intention. His Honor is sorry to find that the people of this country are unnecessarily alarmed at stories invented by seditious persons, and that they do not try to ascertain the truth. He hopes that when the facts are made known to them, all suspicions will be removed from their minds, and that they will rest assured as regards the intentions of the Government towards them. The principal objection of the Government is and ever shall be to protect the life, honor and property of its subjects, to respect their laws and customs and to do what it can to promote their welfare.

Some of the Calcutta missionaries have, as is their wont, but without the sanction of the Government, published religious discourses and circulated them amongst the natives who have wrongly understood them to have come indirectly from the Government. The Government has, however, had no hand in the affair. No attempt was ever made on behalf of Government to persuade the natives to embrace the faith professed by the Government. It is evident that the inhabitants of this country belong to different races and profess different creeds and religions, and are governed by different laws. They have now been long living under the protection of the Government, but the Government, instead of interfering in the religious rites and ceremonies of any class of its subjects, always regard them all as equal in its sight. The proceedings of the Christian ministers above alluded to are part of their ordinary duties. They are in fact lectures of the same kind as are generally delivered in Muhammadan Mosques and Hindu temples on subjects bearing upon faith. A little consideration will show that there is nothing new in the matter, that discussions on religious subjects are common amongst the votaries of different faiths, and that the Government has no concern with them.

The reports, spread in some newspapers that all the Muharrum ceremonies, the *parda* system of the *Zenana* [Muslim custom of secluding women from men], the rite of circumcision and other rites and ceremonies practised under Muhammadan and Hindu Laws are soon to be done away with by orders of Government must be considered as false and fabricated stories. These reports have no ground whatever. The Government cannot possibly meddle with these ceremonies.

To distinguish the jail from the home, certain Jail Superintendents, ignorant of the customs and creeds of the country, divested prisoners of their necessary utensils used in eating and drinking, and of course without the knowledge and consent of the Government. But no sooner was this brought to notice of Government than orders were telegraphed to put a stop to their proceedings.

His Honor has been further given to understand that the inhabitants of this country regard the establishment of schools and colleges for the education of the natives in arts and sciences and in the English language as a means to mislead them from their faith, and that for this reason they are disinclined to send their children to school. This is undoubtedly a great mistake of theirs. The step has been misunderstood by the people. Knowing that the natives of India are generally ignorant and therefore live in want, the Supreme Government has been pleased to establish schools and colleges for their education in sciences and arts of life, and for the amelioration of their conditions in general and to appoint inspectors and native subordinates to superintend the work, so that the people may earn their bread more comfortably and live in a better style.

It is a well known fact that the people of England by their advancement in learning, are able to do everything properly, whereas the people of India owing to their ignorance can do nothing. If knowledge be generally diffused among them, all would live much more comfortably than they do now. It is a matter of great regret that the people have misunderstood the policy and the good intentions of Government in matters of education. His Honor, however, believes that the origin of all these evils is a misapprehension on the part of the natives, and that they do not proceed from prejudices or ill feelings.

Be it known that by the spread of English education Government is simply desirious of opening to the people of India a path to all arts and sciences, and not to mislead them from their religion and time-honoured customs and habits. It must however be well borne in mind that works relating to all arts and sciences at present exist only in English language and new discoveries and inventions are every day being brought to light. Moreover, English being the language of the rulers of the country, it is one of the duties of the subjects to learn it along with Urdu or Bengali so that they may rise in honor and live in greater ease and comfort. The native tongue of the country has been adopted as the language of the Court with a view that the common people may be able to understand their proceedings.

His Honor the lieutenant Governor, having seen and heard much about the state of the country and the condition of the people, is determined to do his best in their behalf and to raise all classes of His majesty's subjects in honor and respectability by means of their education, and His Honour therefore notifies the above to Her Majesty's loyal subjects that they may rest well assured of the good intentions of the Government towards them, and take heart and work contentedly praying to God sincerely for the prosperity of their benign Government.

APPENDIX III
THE OLD PINDAREE .....

Allah is great, my children, and kind to a slave like me,
The King big Sahib's tent has gone from under the Peepal tree,
With his horde of hungry chuprasses, and oily sons of the quill --
I paid them the bribe they wanted, and Satan will settle my bill.
It's not that I care for money, or expect a dog to be clean,
If I were lord of the Ryots, they'd starve ere I grew lean --
But I'd sooner be robbed by a tall man, who showed me a
yard of steel
Than be fleeced by a smoking Baboo, with a peon and badge
at the heel.
There goes my lord the Firingee, who talks so civil and bland,
But raves like a soul in *Jehannum*, [hell] if I don't quite understood --
He begins by calling me Sahib, and ends by calling me fool,
He has taken my old sword from me, and tells me to set
up a school;
Set up a school in the village, "and my wishes are," says he
"That you'll make the boys learn reg'lar, or you'll get a
lesson from me."
Well -- Ram Lall the Telee mocks me, and pounded my cow
last rains --
He's got three greasy young urchins, and I'll see that they
take pains
There comes a settlement Hakim [i.e., officer] to teach me to plough and weed.
(I sowed the cotton he gave me, but first I boiled the seed)
He likes us humble farmers and speaks so gracious and wise
As he asks of our manners and customs, I tell him a parcel of lies.
"Look", says the school Firingee, "what a silly old man you be,
You can't read, write, nor cipher, and your grandsons do all three.
They'll check the Mahajan's [money-lender] figures, and reckon the tenant's
corn
And read good books about London, and the world afore you were born."
Well -- I may be old and foolish, for I've seventy years well old
And the Sahibs have governed me forty, so my heart and hands got cold,
Good boys they are my grandsons, I know, but they'll never be men,
Such as I was at twenty-five, when the sword was King of the pen
Ah -- I rode a Deccanee charger, with the saddle cloth gold laced,
And a Persian sword, and a twelve foot spear, and a pistol at my waist --
My son he keeps a tatoo, and I grieve to see him astride,
Jogging away to cutchery, [court] and swaying from side to side,
My father was an Afghan, and came from Qandahar,
He rode with Nawab Amir Khan in the old Mahratta war.
From the Deccan to the Himalayas, five hundred of one clan,
They asked no leave from king or chief, as they swept o'er Hindustan.
My mother was a Brahminee, but held to my father well,
She was saved from the sack of Jaleysir. when a thousand Hindu fell --
Her kindred died in the sally, so she followed where he went
And lived like a bold Patthanee in the shade of a rider's tent.

It's many a year gone by now, but yet I often dream
Of a dark march to the Jumna, and spashing across the stream.
The waving moon on the water, and the spears in the dim starlight,
As I rode in front of my mother, and wondered at the sight.
But the British chased Ameer Khan, [the founder of Tonkstate in Rajasthan] and the roving times must cease.
My father got this village, and he sowed his crops in peace --
But I was young and hot of blood, it was no life for me,
So I took to the hills Malwa, and became a Pindaree.
Praise to the name Almighty, there is no God but one.
Muhammad is his prophet, and his will shall ever be done --
Ye shall take no use for money, for your faith for lucre sell,
Ye shall make no terms with the infidel, but smite his soul to Hell,
Tell me, ye men of Islam, who are living in slavish ease,
Who wrangle before the Firingee, for a poor man's lost rupees --
Are ye better than were your fathers, who plundered with old Chetoo,
And squeezed the greedy traders as the traders now squeeze you?
Down there a Mahajan lives, my father gave him a bill,
I have paid the man thrice over, and here I am paying him still,
He shows me a long stamped paper, and must have my land, must he?
If I were twenty years younger, and my life before me to choose
I wouldn't be lectured by *kafirs*, [infidels] or bullied by fat Hindus,
But I'd go to some far off country, where Mussalman [Muslims] still are men,
Or take to the forest like Chetoo, and die in a tiger's den.

APPENDIX B
SIR SAYYID'S PRAYER FOR PEACE AT MORADABAD

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE THANKSGIVING
ON
THE 28TH JULY 1859

As it is my heartfelt desire, and prayer to God, that our Government, and the people of India, be so connected together as to be of one accord in the administration of this country; therefore, whenever I find such unanimity between them on any subject I become exceedingly glad of it, and wish to have it recorded for future remembrance. The Thanksgiving for the Peace of this country of the 28th July from the part of the Muhammadans of Moradabad being of the above nature, I record as follows: --

All the Muhammadans of this town joined unanimously in subscribing a sum of 500 Rupees for alms to the poor, and an illumination; and it was proposed that all the Muhammadans should assemble together at a mosque in a large square, and after prostrating themselves before God, a prayer prepared for the occasion should be read out.

Accordingly, at about 4:00 P.M. on the day appointed, all the Muhammadans assembled at the mosque, near the shrine of Shah Boolaqi; when having bowed their heads and bent their knees to the glory of God, as their religion requires, they then joined in the 'Thanksgiving' written for the occasion; the Priest standing on the highest pinnacle of the mosque, while the people stood around him, read the 'prayer' to God in a solemn and impressive manner. The reader paused after each sentence of the 'prayer,' when all the congregation with the utmost humility exclaimed in the presence of God, "Amen!"

They prayed first for Queen Victoria, and then for the Viceroy; Lord Canning. They also mentioned in their prayer the name of Mr. Reade, a Member of the Sadr Board of Revenue.

The number of hearers was not in my opinion less than 12 or 15 thousand, all of them entirely devoted in their hearts towards God, and all of them felt true affection for the Almighty, and thanked him for his great mercies. After prayers, alms and food were abundantly given to the poor. In the mosque above mentioned, as well as the shrine of Shah Boolaqi, illuminations of great magnificence were displayed; on two towers were hung on each door, transparencies on which the words 'Queen Victoria,' were written in the English and Persian characters. On the same night the whole town was illuminated, but the illuminations in the Juma Musjid, near the bank of the Ram Gunga river, and in the other seven celebrated mosques in the town, the magnificence and splendour was the greatest.

The principal promoters of this gratifying spectacle were Qazee Abbas, the Qazee of the town, Sydooddeen Ahmed Khan, a rais, Sheikh Zeinooddeen, and Meer Zahur Hussein, a Wakeel of the Civil Court, but all the Muhammadans, servants of the Government, as well as the private residents of the town, assisted them.

PRAYER
IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD

O God! thou alone art our true Protector. To thee only, O God! do dominion and sovereignty justly belong. O God! thou art the sole ruler of the universe. King of Kings! thou exaltest whomsoever thou wilt, and at the command the great are brought low. O God! thou holdest the Universe; the lives of thy creatures, and the hearts of men are in thy hands. Thou swayest them according to thy will, and whatsoever thou desirest, that thy do. Thy ways are the ways of wisdom; and mercy governeth they works. None can stay thy hands. We are thy helpless servants, O God! From the crowns of our head to the soles of our feet we are sinners before thee. O God! our unfortunate deeds have plunged us deep into the ocean of guilt; we are ever transgressors in thy sight.

Without thy divine help we are not one moment free from sin. There is none beside thee, O God, our God! to pardon our iniquities; none but thee to rescue us from the floods of sin which have overwhelmed us. With broken, contrite hearts, we implore thee in thy name and for the sake of our most holy Prophet to forgive us our sins. Thy mercy, O God! far exceedeth thy just indignation. In thy mercy look down on us and forgive us. As a dirty garment cleansed from its filth, wash out and purify our sinful hearts, we beseech thee. O God! in thy boundless mercy purge us thoroughly of the foul sins which defile our hearts and make us clean. Blot out our transgressions, O God! Grant us thy Holy Spirit and strengthen our souls, for other help and refuge we have none, beside thee O God!

2. Our sins have multiplied exceedingly. O God! Our untoward acts, O God, were countless in thy sight. We believe that thou wilt one day doubtless reward each man according to the deeds he has committed, for thou hast so declared by the mouths of thy faithful prophets. In that day, none can expect deliverance but through thy mercy and grace; for all men are sinners in thy sight. But within the last two years, especially, thou hast looked down with wrathful indignation on thy wretched servants for their unfortunate misdeeds. Lord! we repent us of our sins. We pray thee, O God! to forgive us our iniquities. Pardon our sins, we beseech thee, O God. Amen.

3. O God! the times just passed away have been very eventful to thy creatures. Neither man nor dumb cattle, the beasts of the field nor the fowls of the air, nay, nor even the inanimate trees and rocks, that cover the face of the earth, have enjoyed peace and quiet. No man was assured of life, property or his honor. The late disturbances tossed heaven and earth

into confusion. In thy merciful kindness thou hast put away from us O God the evils and calamities of the revolt. O God! thou hast renewed thy mercy towards thy helpless servants and hast restored to us the peace and comfort thy servants enjoyed through thy grace in the days preceding the disastrous disturbance. O God! we give thee our heartfelt thanks for this thy mercy vouchsafed us. O God! the prayers and thanksgiving we now offer up to thy throne and august presence, though inadequate and worthless, yet in thy gracious mercy accept them, O Lord!

4. O God, we humbly acknowledge thy great goodness in having placed us under just rulers. For a hundred years thou has continued to us, thy people of Hindustan, the blessings of justice and equity. Thou hast shown us the evil tendency of our foolish deeds during the late unfortunate years, by depriving us temporarily of these our rulers, and hast now re-established our Government, and given us back our just and impartial Governors. We approach thee with hearty thanks for thy merciful kindness, and beseech thee in thy great goodness to accept our prayers and praise.

5. O God! the benefits thy servants receive at the hands of their fellow creatures truly come from thee, and in offering our thanks to the creature we recognize thy gracious hand. Thou, the great Creator, working through the creature for our good. Thou readest the innermost thoughts of the hearts of all men; for nothing is secret or hidden to thee.

Thou didst put mercy into the hearts of our rulers towards the people of Hindustan who were participators in these calamitous events.

Thou didst constrain the heart of our gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria, long may she reign over us, to issue a proclamation overflowing with mercy and forgiveness. We thank thee from our hearts, and with our lives hold ourselves grateful to the Queen.

O God! accept our thanks and grant this our prayer. Amen.

O God! may Victoria be our Queen, the Empress of the World.

6. Nothing can obliterate from the minds of the people of Hindustan the kindness and benevolence which His Excellency the Viceroy of India, Lord Canning -- may he long rule -- exhibited. Deeply considering the true cause of the outbreak, His Excellency advocated the issue of this merciful Proclamation, nor has his firm conviction been ever shaken in carrying out its terms, thus restoring peace to the people of India, and securing their hearts' attachment by the obligation he has thus laid them under and drawing from them their thanks and prayers. O God! accept our prayers. Amen.

O God, be thou our inheritance and Lord Canning our Viceroy.

The people of Hindustan regard the attribute of mercy with a more longing, eager desire than the wearied traveller does the water brook when oppressed by intense heat of the weather under the intense rays of a scorching sun and surrounded by the infinite waste of a sandy desert. When they meet a ruler who regards them with eyes of pity and kindness, the people love him from the bottom

of their hearts, and thank him from their very souls. All the people of India are aware that from an intimate knowledge of the true causes and conditions of the outbreak, Mr. Reade, Member of the Sudder Board, regarded the people of India with compassionate eyes. For this we offer him our thanks, and pray for him from our hearts. May the Almighty answer our prayers. O God! may Mr. Reade ever remain our safeguard and be blessed by thee.

7. It is now our prayer that the Great God may ever extend his grace and mercy, protection and good-will, peace and comfort to us and bless and prosper the people of India in their willing submission to the Government, and grant that our rulers may ever be gracious and merciful to their subjects, the servants of God. Amen. Amen.

APPENDIX C
LETTER OF 1869 TO SIR JOHN KAYE

21 Meeklenburgh Square W.C.
14th Dec. 1869

My dear Sir,

With many many thanks I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 30th ultimo and at the same time to ask your pardon for the delay which has taken place in answering it. I am sorry to learn you are unwell, but hope that under God's blessing you may ere long be restored to your wanted health.

In yours now under reply you honour me by asking my opinion "as to the extent to which the Mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the N. W. Provinces," and express your opinion that "it was not a mere military mutiny". As far as my personal knowledge extends respecting the Sepoy Revolt of 1857, and from all that I have learnt from investigation I find that even the use of the expression 'Military Mutiny' conveys an idea of something more than the real fact.

It cannot be denied that the use of the greased cartridges did violence to the superstition of the sepoys, who consequently determined not to bite the same. Almost all the sepoys had unanimously resolved never to bite the cartridge, which determination was the only charge that could be brought against them, till a very severe punishment was inflicted upon them at Meerut, a punishment which produced a strong impression on the minds of those men, that they must either bite the greased cartridges or suffer the punishment of their disobedience. And it was then and not before that the discontent of the sepoys grew into a Military Mutiny. I am strongly of opinion that if before the infliction of punishment the alternative either of biting the cartridges or resigning the service had been offered to them the sepoys would undoubtedly have peaceably withdrawn themselves from the Company's service. If the real facts connected with the revolt in the N. W. P. be calmly inquired into, I do not think that the events which happened there can properly be designated as a "popular rebellion".

Undoubtedly the people of the N. W. P. were dissatisfied with the Company's rule, and this in a great measure was owing to the following causes: -- the decay of respectable families, without the void they left being filled up by others -- the non-existence of any means by which the native community could procure honorable situations more especially -- the forfeiture of the Muafee (right of holding lands without paying any rent to Government), which act of the authorities was considered a great injustice by the natives, and lastly to some other causes of less importance. It may also be safely asserted that the Govt.'s exercise of the right of "Predominent Power", a power subject to no regulations and unlimited, and the interference, in a way till then unknown in the cases of adoption and lapse, had created a distrust in the mind of native chiefs who perhaps did no longer think themselves secure. It does, however, by no means

appear that even this stimulated them to revolt or take any part in the rebellion, for no native chiefs whatever, who were in possession of their principalities, notwithstanding the distrust with which they looked upon the Company's rule, committed themselves by any act of rebellion against the Government.

Quitting the subject of the Military Mutiny I shall now briefly describe the character of the rebellion in the N. W. Provinces. The rebellion in the N. W. P. assumed three forms: --

1st. Robbers and Dacoits who were kept down by the power and strength of the Government now assembling in numbers not only attacked way-farers but also plundered villages and even towns.

2nd. Some of the minor chiefs whose families had fallen into decay, endeavoured the resuscitation of their ancestral power. This sort of mutiny occurred in four places only: Cawnpore, Bareilly, Bijnaur and Farrukhabad. Some of these parties tried to have themselves restored while others were compelled by the mutineers to make an effort.

3rd. Some of the lower classes, variously employed, entered the service of these rebellious chiefs.

The first kind of rebellion cannot strictly by deemed one against the Government. The third sort of rebellion also, although undoubtedly a crime, cannot be called a regular rebellion, if we take into consideration the then state of India where serving a rebellious chief was not considered equivalent to an act of rebellion. This notion had taken deep root in the native mind in times previous to the Company's rule, when chiefs fought with each other and when engaging in the Military service of either party was not considered as a crime. The second sort of revolt was indeed of a serious nature but this bad feeling was exclusively confined to the above mentioned rebellious chiefs and was never general. As far as I know the population of no part of the N. W. P. tried or even thought of rendering any assistance to the native rebellious chiefs, much less than of subverting the British rule. A great proof of the justice of this assertion lies in the fact that, as soon as the mutinous troops and the rebellious chiefs were expelled from a District, peace was immediately restored.

I therefore think that the mutiny of 1857 was not a popular rebellion. To a European mind unacquainted with the state of India the very name of rebellion at once carries with it an idea that the people of the country must have taken part in it, and real facts are thus ignored.

With feelings of sincere regard, and hoping the above will suffice to give you some idea of my humble opinion.

I remain,
Dear Sir,

Very truly yours
(Sd) Syed Ahmed

To
J. W. Kaye Esqr.
etc. etc. India Office.

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